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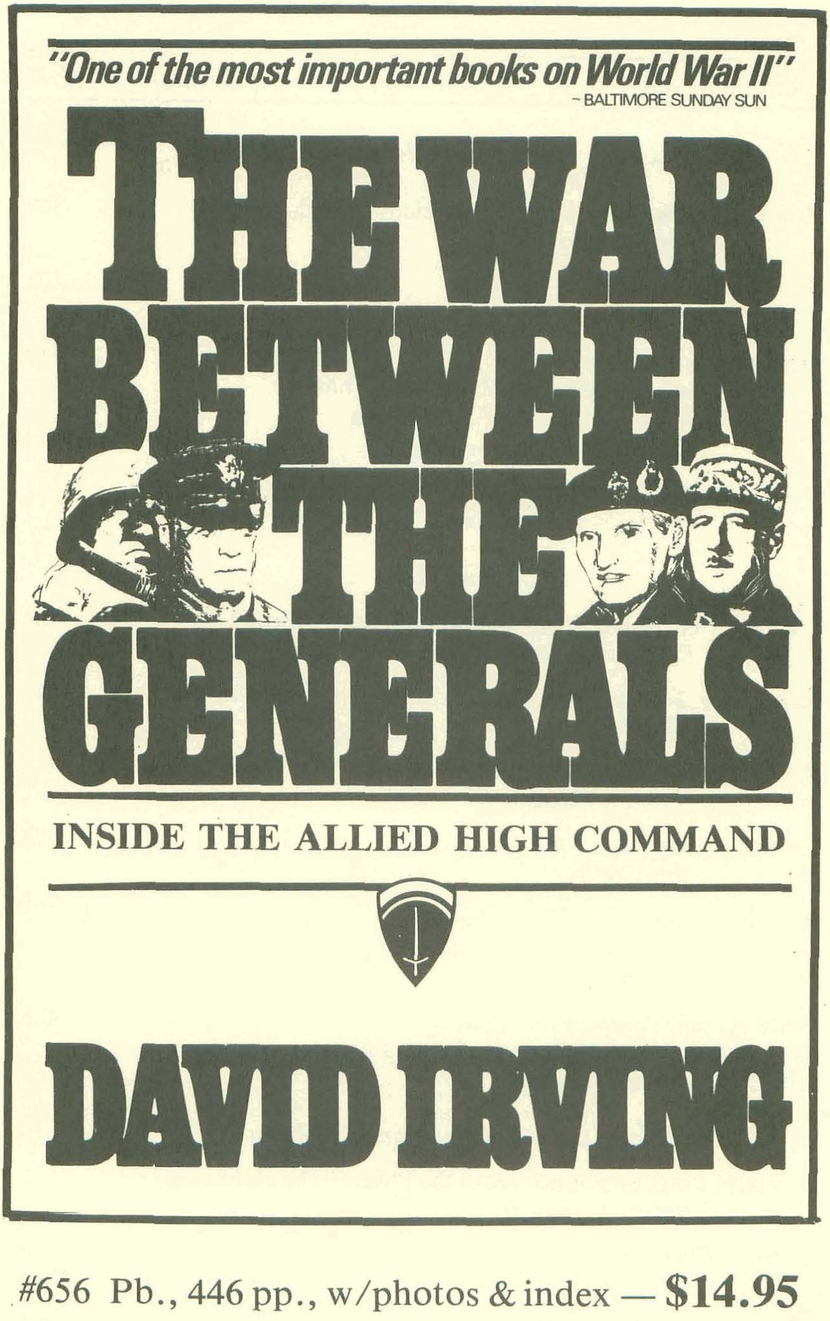

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How the British Obtained the Confessions of Rudolf Höss

ROBERT FAURISSON

Rudolf Höss was the first of three successive commandants of the Auschwitz concentration camp. He is often called "*the* Commandant of Auschwitz," and the general public knows of him from a book published under the title *Commandant in Auschwitz.* He appeared before the International Military Tribunal as a witness on 15 April 1946, where his deposition caused a sensation. To the amazement of the defendants and in the presence of journalists from around the world, he confessed to the most frightful crimes that history had ever known. He said that he had personally received an order from Himmler to exterminate the Jews. He estimated that at Auschwitz 3,000,000 people had been exterminated, 2,500,000 of them by means of gas chambers. His confessions were false. They had been extorted from Höss by torture, but it took until 1983 to learn the identity of the torturers and the nature of the tortures they inflicted upon him.

The confessions of Rudolf Höss supply the keystone to the theory which maintains that the systematic extermination of the Jews, especially by means of homicidal gas chambers, was a historical reality. These confessions consist essentially of four documents which, in chronological order, are the following:

1. A written deposition signed on 14 March (or 15 March?) 1946 at 2:30 in the morning; it is an 8-page typed text written in German; I do not think, under normal circumstances, a court in any democracy would agree to take into consideration those pages, lacking as they did any heading and any printed administrative reference; and crawling with various corrections, whether typed or handwritten, uninitialled and without a notation at the end of the total number of words corrected or deleted. Höss signed it for the first time after having written: "14.3.46 2^{30}." He signed again after two lines which are supposed to have been handwritten but which were typed, and which say:

> I have read the above account and confirm that it is corresponding to my own statement and that it was the pure truth. [Official translation.]

The names and the signatures of the two witnesses, British sergeants, follow. One did not note the date, while the other indicated 15 March. The last signature is that of a captain of the 92nd Field Security Section, who certifies that the two sergeants were present throughout the entire proceedings, during which the prisoner Rudolf Höss made his statement voluntarily. The date indicated is 14 March 1946. Nothing indicates the place!

The Allies numbered this document NO-1210.

2. An affidavit signed 22 days later on 5 April 1946. It is a typed text, $2^1/_4$ pages long, written in English. That is surprising: thereby Höss signed a declaration under oath, not in his own language but in that of his guards. His signature appeared three times: at the bottom of the first two pages, then on the third and last page, after a text of four lines, still in English, still typed, which reads:

> I understand English as it is written above. The above statements are true; this declaration is made by me voluntarily and without compulsion; after reading over the statement, I have signed and executed the same at Nurnberg, Germany, on the fifth day of April 1946.

There follows the signature of Lieutenant-Colonel Smith W. Brookhart after the statement: "Subscribed and sworn before me this 5th day of April, 1946, at Nurnberg, Germany."

In its form, this text is, if possible, even less acceptable than the preceding one. In particular, entire lines have been added in capital letters in the English style, while others are crossed out with a stroke of the pen. There is no initialling in the margin next to these corrections, and no summary at the end of the document of the number of words struck out. The Allies assigned this document the number PS-3868.

In order to hide the fact that Höss had signed an affidavit that was in English when it ought to have been in his own language, German, and in order to make the crossed-out words and the additions and corrections disappear, the following trick was used at Nuremberg: the original text was recast and presented as a "Translation," meaning from German into English! But the person responsible for this deception did his work too quickly. He thought that a handwritten addition to paragraph 10 (done in an English handwriting style) was an addition to the end of paragraph 9. The result of that misunderstanding is that the end of paragraph 9 is rendered totally incomprehensible. There are, therefore, two different documents that bear the same file number, PS-3868: the document signed by Höss and the "remake." It is the "remake," really a glaring forgery, that was used before the Nuremberg tribunal. One historical work that claimed to reproduce document PS-3868 by Höss in fact reproduced the "remake" but omitted (without saying so) the end of paragraph 9 as well as all of paragraph 10: see Henri Monneray, *La Persécution des Juifs dan les pays de l'Est présentée à Nuremberg,* Paris, Center for Contemporary Jewish Documentation, 1949, pp. 159–162.

3. The spectacular oral deposition, which I have already mentioned, made before the IMT on 15 April 1946, ten days after the writing of document PS-3868. Paradoxically, it was a lawyer for the defense, Kurt Kauffmann, Ernst Kaltenbrunner's attorney, who had asked for Höss's appearance. His obvious intention was to show that the person responsible for the presumed extermination was Himmler and not Kaltenbrunner. When it came time for the representative of the prosecution (at that point the American assistant prosecutor, Col. Harlan Amen) to question Höss, he seemed to be reading from the affidavit signed by the latter but, in fact, he was reading excerpts from the "remake." Col. Amen gave an excuse for not reading paragraph 9 (and, at the same time, paragraph 8). Stopping after reading each excerpt, he asked Höss if that was in fact what he had stated. He received the following responses: "Jawohl," "Jawohl," "Jawohl" "Ja, es stimmt," a two sentence response (containing an obvious error about the Hungarian Jews supposedly having been killed at Auschwitz as early as 1943 even though the first convoy of them did not arrive at Auschwitz until May 2 of 1944), "Jawohl," "Jawohl," "Jawohl," a one-sentence response, "Jawohl," and "Jawohl." [IMG, XI, pp. 457–461].*

In a normal murder case there would have been a hundred questions to ask about the extermination and the gas chambers (that is to say about a crime and an instrument of the crime which were without precedent in history), but no one asked those questions. In particular, Colonel Amen did not ask for a single detail nor for any additional information about the frightening text which he had read in the presence of journalists whose stories would make the headlines in newspapers around the world the next day.

---

*Höss is quoted according to the text of the German-language edition of the IMT series.

4. The texts generally collected under the title *Commandant in Auschwitz*. Höss is alleged to have written these texts in pencil under the watchful eye of his Polish-Communist jailers, while in a prison at Cracow awaiting his trial. He was condemned to death on 2 April 1947 and hanged at the Auschwitz concentration camp fourteen days later. The world had to wait 11 years, until 1958, for the publication in German of his alleged memoirs. They were edited by the German historian Martin Broszat without regard for scholarly method. Broszat went so far as to suppress several fragments which would have too clearly made it appear that Höss (or his Polish jailers) had offered outrageous statements which would have called into question the reliability of his writings *in toto*.

The four documents that I have just enumerated are closely connected in their origin. Looking at them more closely, there are contradictions among their respective contents, but, for the most part, they are internally consistent. The eight pages of NO-1210 are in a sense summed up in the $2^1/_4$ pages of PS-3868; that latter document served as the central document in the oral testimony before the IMT; and, finally, the memoirs written at Cracow crown the whole. The base and the matrix are thus document NO-1210. It was in the Cracow memoirs, written under the supervision of Polish examining magistrate Jan Sehn, that Höss was to give particulars about how the British had obtained that very first confession.

Höss's Revelations about His First Confession (Document NO-1210 of 14 or 15 March 1946)

The war ended in Germany on 8 May 1945. Höss fell into the hands of the British, who imprisoned him in a camp for SS men. As a trained agronomist, he obtained an early release. His guards were unaware of the importance of their prey. A work office found him employment as an agricultural work at a farm near Flensburg, not far from the Danish border. He remained there for eight months. The military police looked for him. His family, with whom he succeeded in making contact, was closely watched and subjected to frequent searches.

In his memoirs Höss recounts the circumstances of his arrest and what followed. The treatment that he underwent was particularly brutal. At first sight it is surprising that the Poles allowed Höss to make the revelations he did about the British military police. On reflection, we discover that they might have done so out of one or more of the following motives:

- — to give the confession an appearance of sincerity and veracity;
- — to cause the reader to make a comparison, flattering for the Polish Communists, between the British and Polish methods. Indeed Höss later said that during the first part of his detention at Cracow, his jailers came very close to finishing him off physically and above all morally, but that later they treated him with "such decent and considerate treatment" that he consented to write his memoirs;
- — to furnish an explanation for certain absurdities contained in the text (NO-1210) that the British police had had Höss sign, one of these absurdities being the invention of an "extermination camp" in a place which never existed on any Polish map: "Wolzek near Lublin"; confusion with Belzec is not possible since Höss talks about three camps: "Belzek (sic), Tublinka (sic) and Wolzek near Lublin." Farther on, the spelling of Treblinka will be corrected. Let us note in passing that the camps of Belzec and Treblinka did not yet exist at the time (June 1941) when Himmler, according to Höss, told him that they were already functioning as "extermination camps."

Here are the words Höss uses to describe, in succession, his arrest by the British; his signing of the document that would become NO-1210; his transfer to Minden-on-the-Weser, where the treatment that he underwent was worse yet; his stay at the Nuremberg tribunal's prison; and, finally, his extradition to Poland.

> I was arrested on 11 March 1946 [at 11 pm].
>
> My phial of poison had been broken two days before.
>
> When I was aroused from sleep, I thought at first I was being attacked by robbers, for many robberies were taking place at that time. That was how they managed to arrest me. I was maltreated by the Field Security Police.
>
> I was taken to Heide where I was put in those very barracks from which I had been released by the British eight months earlier.
>
> At my first interrogation, evidence was obtained by beating me. I do not know what is in the record, although I signed it. Alcohol and the whip were too much for me. The whip was my own, which by chance had got into my wife's luggage. It had hardly ever touched my horse, far less the prisoners. Nevertheless, one of my interrogators was convinced that I had perpetually used it for flogging the prisoners.
>
> After some days I was taken to Minden-on-the-Weser, the main interrogation centre in the British Zone. There I received further rough treatment at the hands of the English public prosecutor, a major.
>
> The conditions in the prison accorded with this behaviour.
>
> After three weeks, to my surprise, I was shaved and had my hair cut and I was allowed to wash. My handcuffs had not previously been removed since my arrest.

> On the next day I was taken by lorry to Nuremberg, together with a prisoner of war who had been brought over from London as a witness in Fritzsche's defence. My imprisonment by the International Military Tribunal was a rest-cure compared to what I had been through before. I was accommodated in the same building as the principal accused, and was able to see them daily as they were taken to the court. Almost every day we were visited by representatives for all the Allied nations. I was always pointed out as an especially interesting animal.
>
> I was in Nuremberg because Kaltenbrunner's counsel had demanded me as a witness for his defence. I have never been able to grasp, and it is still not clear to me, how I of all people could have helped to exonerate Kaltenbrunner. Although the conditions in prison were, in every respect, good — I read whenever I had the time, and there was a well stocked library available — the interrogations were extremely unpleasant, not so much physically, but far more because of their strong psychological effect. I cannot really blame the interrogators — they were all Jews.
>
> Psychologically I was almost cut in pieces. They wanted to know all about everything, and this was also done by Jews. They left me in no doubt whatever as to the fate that was in store for me.
>
> On 25 May, my wedding anniversary as it happened, I was driven with von Burgsdorff and Bühler to the aerodrome and there handed over to Polish officers. We flew in an American plane via Berlin to Warsaw. Although we were treated very politely during our journey, I feared the worst when I remembered my experiences in the British Zone and the tales I had heard about the way people were being treated in the East. *(Commandant in Auschwitz,* Introduction by Lord Russell of Liverpool, English translation, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1959, p. 173–175.)

Revelations in 1983 About the British Torturers of Rudolf Höss

The Revisionists proved a long time ago that the various confessions of Rudolf Höss contained so many gross errors, nonsensical elements, and impossibilities of all kinds, that it is no longer possible to believe them, as did the judges at Nuremberg and Cracow, as well as certain self-styled historians, without any prior analysis of their content and of the circumstances in which they were obtained.

In all likelihood, Höss was tortured by the British soldiers of the 92nd Field Security Section, but a confirmation of that hypothesis was necessary. Confirmation has come with the publication in England of a book containing the name of the principal torturer (a British sergeant of Jewish origin) and a description of the circumstances of Höss's arrest, as well as his third-degree interrogation.

The book is by Rupert Butler. It was published in 1983 (Hamlyn Paperbacks). Butler is the author of three other works: *The Black Angels, Hand of Steel* and *Gestapo,* all published by Hamlyn. The book that interests us is entitled *Legions of Death.* Its inspiration is anti-Nazi. Butler says that he researched this book at the Imperial War Museum in London, the Institute for Contemporary History and Wiener Library, and other such prestigious institutions. At the beginning of his book, he expresses his gratitude to these institutions and, among others, to two persons, one of whom is Bernard Clarke ("who captured Auschwitz Commandant Rudolf Höss"). The author quotes several fragments of what are either written or recorded statements by Clarke.

Bernard Clarke shows no remorse. On the contrary, he exhibits a certain pride in having tortured a "Nazi." Rupert Butler, likewise, finds nothing to criticize in that. Neither of them understands the importance of their revelations. They say that Höss was arrested on 11 March, 1946, and that it took three days of torture to obtain "a coherent statement." They do not realize that the alleged "coherent statement" is nothing other than the lunatic confession, signed by their quivering victim on the 14th or 15th of March 1946, at 2:30 in the morning, which was to seal Höss's fate definitely, a confession which would also give definitive shape to the myth. The confession would also shape decisively the myth of Auschwitz, the supposed high-point of the extermination of the Jews, above all due to the alleged use of homicidal gas chambers.

On 11 March 1946, a Captain Cross, Bernard Clarke and four other intelligence specialists in British uniforms, most of them tall and menacing, entered the home of Frau Höss and her children. The six men, we are told, were all "practised in the more sophisticated techniques of sustained and merciless investigation" (p. 235). Clarke began to shout:

> If you don't tell us [where your husband is] we'll turn you over to the Russians and they'll put you before a firing-squad. Your son will go to Siberia.

Frau Höss broke down and revealed, says Clarke, the location of the farm where her husband was in hiding, as well as his assumed name: Franz Lang. And Bernard Clarke added:

> Suitable intimidation of the son and daughter produced precisely identical information.

The Jewish sergeant and the five other specialists in third degree interrogation then left to seek out Höss, whom they surprised in the middle of the night, sleeping in an alcove of the room used to slaughter cattle on the farm.

> Höss screamed in terror at the mere sight of British uniforms.
>
> Clarke yelled: "What is your name?"
>
> With each answer of "Franz Lang," Clarke's hand crashed into the face of his prisoner. The fourth time that happened, Höss broke and admitted who he was.
>
> The admission suddenly unleashed the loathing of the Jewish sergeants in the arresting party whose parents had died in Auschwitz following an order signed by Höss.
>
> The prisoner was torn from the top bunk, the pyjamas ripped from his body. He was then dragged naked to one of the slaughter tables, where it seemed to Clarke the blows and screams were endless.
>
> Eventually, the Medical Officer urged the Captain: "Call them off, unless you want to take back a corpse."
>
> A blanket was thrown over Höss and he was dragged to Clarke's car, where the sergeant poured a substantial slug of whisky down his throat. Then Höss tried to sleep.
>
> Clarke thrust his service stick under the man's eyelids and ordered in German: "Keep your pig eyes open, you swine."
>
> For the first time Höss trotted out his oft-repeated justification: "I took my orders from Himmler. I am a soldier in the same way as you are a soldier and we had to obey orders."
>
> The party arrived back at Heide around three in the morning. The snow was swirling still, but the blanket was torn from Höss and he was made to walk completely nude through the prison yard to his cell. (p. 237)

So it is that Bernard Clarke reveals: "It took three days to get a coherent statement out of [Höss]" *(ibid.)*. This admission was corroborated by Mr. Ken Jones in an article in the *Wrexham Leader* (October 17, 1986):

> Mr. Ken Jones was then a private with the Fifth Royal Horse Artillery stationed at Heid[e] in Schleswig-Holstein. "They brought him to us when he refused to cooperate over questioning about his activities during the war. He came in the winter of 1945/6 and was put in a small jail cell in the barracks," recalls Mr. Jones. Two other soldiers were detailed with Mr. Jones to join Höss in his cell to help break him down for interrogation. "We sat in the cell with him, night and day, armed with axe handles. Our job was to prod him every time he fell asleep to help break down his resistance," said Mr. Jones. When Höss was taken out for exercise, he was made to wear only jeans and a thin cotton shirt in the bitter cold. After three days and nights without sleep, Höss finally broke down and made a full confession to the authorities.

Clarke's statement, obtained under the conditions just described by bullies of British Military Security under the brutal inspiration of sergeant-interpreter Bernard Clarke, became Höss's first confession, the original confession indexed under the number NO-1210. Once the tortured prisoner had begun to talk, according to Clarke, it was impossible to stop him. Clarke, no more conscious in 1982 or 1983 than in 1946 of the enormity of what he forced Höss to confess, goes on to describe a series of fictitious horrors presented here as the truth: Höss went on to tell how, after the bodies had been ignited, the fat oozing from them was poured over the other bodies(!). He estimated the number of dead during just the period when he was at Auschwitz at two million (!); the killings reached 10,000 victims per day (!).

It was Clarke's duty to censor the letters sent by Höss to his wife and children. Every policeman knows that the power to grant or withhold permission to a prisoner to write to his family constitutes a psychological weapon. To make a prisoner "sing" it is sometimes sufficient to merely suspend or cancel that authorization. Clarke makes an interesting remark about the content of Höss's letters; he confides to us:

> Sometimes a lump came to my throat. There were two different men in that one man. One was brutal with no regard for human life. The other was soft and affectionate. (p. 238)

Rupert Butler ends his narrative by saying that Höss sought neither to deny nor to escape his responsibilities. In effect, at the Nuremberg tribunal Höss conducted himself with a "schizoid apathy." The expression is that of the American prison psychologist, G.M. Gilbert, who was in charge of the psychological surveillance of the prisoners and whose eavesdropping aided the American prosecution. We can certainly believe that Höss was "split in two"! He had the appearance of a rag because they had turned him into a rag. "Apathetic," writes Gilbert on page 229 of his book; "apathetic," he repeats on the following page; "schizoid apathy," he writes on page 239 *(Nuremberg Diary,* 1947, Signet Book: 1961).

At the end of his trial at Cracow, Höss greeted his death sentence with apparent indifference. Rupert Butler comments as follows:

> [Höss] reasoned that Allies had their orders and that there could be absolutely no question of these not being carried out. *(ibid.)*

One could not say it any better. It seems that Rudolf Höss, like thousands of accused Germans turned over to the mercy of conquerors who were totally convinced of their own goodness, had quickly grasped that he had no other choice but to suffer the will of his judges, whether they came from the West or from the East.

Butler then quickly evokes the case of Hans Frank, the former Governor of Poland. With the same tone of moral satisfaction he recounts the circumstances of Frank's capture and subsequent treatment:

> Celebrity status of any kind singularly failed to impress the two coloured GIs who arrested him and made sure he was transported to the municipal prison in Miesbach only after he had been savagely beaten up and flung into a lorry.
>
> A tarpaulin had been thrown over him to hide the more obvious signs of ill-treatment; Frank found the cover useful when he attempted to slash an artery in his left arm.
>
> Clearly, no such easy way out could be permitted; a US army medical officer saved his life and he stood trial at the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg. (p. 238–239)

Rudolf Höss and Hans Frank were not the only ones to undergo treatment of that kind. Among the most celebrated cases, we know of Julius Streicher, Hans Fritzsche, Oswald Pohl, Franz Ziereis, and Josef Kramer.

But the case of Rudolf Höss is by far the most serious in its consequences. There is no document that proves that the Germans had a policy of exterminating the Jews. Léon Poliakov agreed with this in 1951:

> As regards the conception properly called of the plan for a total extermination, the three or four principal actors committed suicide in May of 1945. No document has survived or perhaps has ever existed. *(Bréviaire de la haine: Le IIIe Reich et les Juifs,* Calmann-Levy, 1951, Livre de Poche, 1974, p. 171)

In the absence of any document, historians *à la* Poliakov have repeatedly returned, primarily, to doubtful confessions like those of Kurt Gerstein or of Rudolf Höss, sometimes modifying the texts to suit their convenience.

Bernard Clarke is "today a successful businessman working in the south of England" *(Legions of Death,* 1983, p. 235). One can in fact say that it is *his* voice that was heard at Nuremberg on 15 April 1946, when Assistant Prosecutor Amen read, piece by piece, to an astonished and overwhelmed audience, the supposed confession of Rudolf Höss. On that day was launched a lie of world-wide dimensions: the lie of Auschwitz. At the origins of that prodigious media event: several Jewish sergeants of British Military Security, including Bernard Clarke, "today a successful businessman working in the south of England."

The Testimony of Moritz von Schirmeister

During the war, Moritz von Schirmeister had been the personal press attaché of Joseph Goebbels. On 29 June 1946, he was interrogated before the IMT as a defense witness for Hans Fritzsche. His deposition was particularly interesting regarding the actual personality of Dr. Goebbels and the attitude of the official German news services toward the flood of atrocity stories about the concentration camps spread during the war by the Allies.

At the end of the war, Moritz von Schirmeister had been arrested by the British and interned in a camp in England, where he was given the task of politically "re-educating" his fellow prisoners. Before testifying at Nuremberg, he was transferred by plane from London to Germany. At first he was kept at Minden-on-the-Weser, which was the principal interrogation center for the British Military Police. From there he was taken by car (31 March–1 April 1946) to the prison at Nuremberg. In the same car rode Rudolf Höss. Moritz von Schirmeister is precisely that "prisoner of war who had been brought over from London as a witness in Fritzsche's defence" about whom Höss speaks in his "memoirs" (see above, p. 393). Thanks to a document that I obtained from American researcher Mark Weber, who gave me a copy of it in Washington in September of 1983 (a document whose exact source I am not yet authorized to indicate), we know that the two Germans were able to talk freely in the car that took them to Nuremberg. In that document, slightly more than two pages long, Moritz von Schirmeister reports, as regarding the charges hanging over Höss, that Höss confided to him:

> Gewiss, ich habe unterschrieben, dass ich 2½ Millionen Juden umgebracht habe. Aber ich hätte genausogut unterschrieben, dass es 5 Millionen Juden gewesen sind. Es gibt eben Methoden, mit denen man jedes Geständnis erreichen kann — ob es nun wahr ist oder nicht.

"Certainly, I signed a statement that I killed two and a half million Jews. But I could just as well have said that it was five million Jews. There are certain methods by which any confession can be obtained, whether it is true or not."

Another Confession Signed by Rudolf Höss

The British torturers of Rudolf Höss had no reason to exercise any restraint. After making him sign document NO-1210 at 2:30 in the morning of the 14th or 15th of March 1946, they obtained a new signature from him on March 16, this time at the bottom of a text in English, written in an English handwriting style, with a blank in the space where the name of the place ought to have been given. His guards made him sign a simple note written in English:

> Statement made voluntarily at _______ Gaol by Rudolf Höss, former Commandant of Auschwitz Concentration Camp on 16th day of March 1946.
>
> ---
>
> I personally arranged on orders received from Himmler in May 1941 the gassing of two million persons between June/July 1941 and the end of 1943 during which time I was commandant of Auschwitz.
>
> signed.
> Rudolf Höss,
> SS-Stubhr.
> Eh. (?) Kdt. v. Auschwitz-Birkenau
>
> (even the word "signed" was written in an English hand).

The Auschwitz Myth

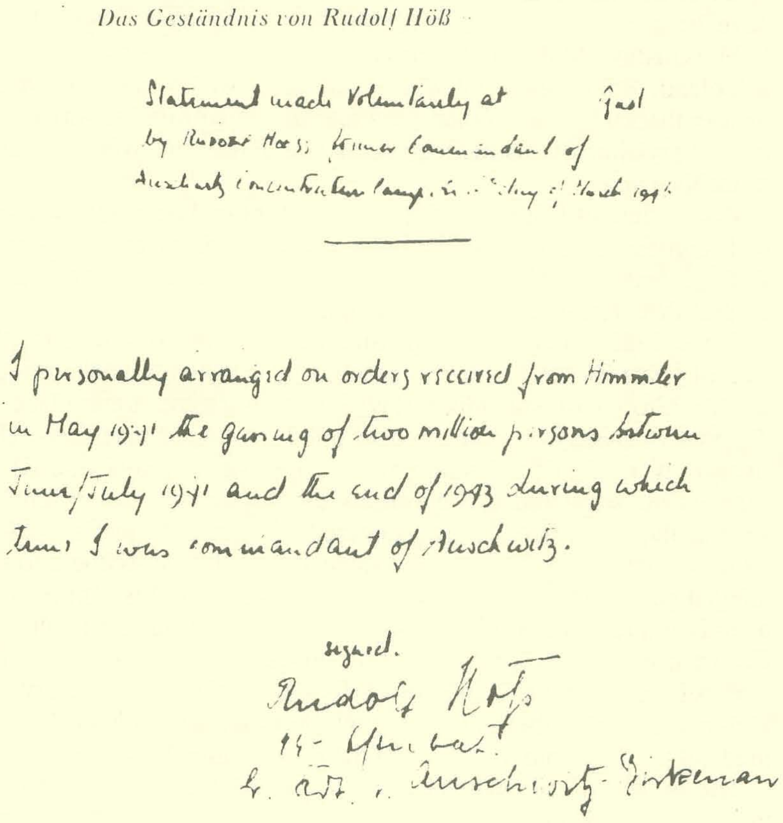
We have known for some time that the Auschwitz myth is of an exclusively Jewish origin. Arthur R. Butz has related the facts in his book, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century,* as has Wilhelm Stäglich in *The Auschwitz Myth.* The principal authors of the creation and the peddling of the "rumor of Auschwitz" have been, successively, two Slovaks, Alfred Wetzler (or Weczler) and Rudolf Vrba (or Rosenberg or Rosenthal); then a Hungarian, Rabbi Michael Dov Ber Weissmandel (or Weissmandl); then, in Switzerland, representatives of the World Jewish Congress like Gerhard Riegner, who were in touch with London and Washington; and finally Americans like Harry Dexter White, Henry Morgenthau Jr. and Rabbi Stephen Samuel Wise. Thus was born the famous World Refugee Board Report on Auschwitz and Birkenau, published in Washington in November 1944. Copies of this report were included in the files of the judges advocate general in charge of prosecuting the Germans involved in the Auschwitz camp. It constituted the official version of the story of the alleged gassing of the Jews in that camp. Most probably it was used as a reference work by the inquirers-interrogators-torturers of *"the* Commandant of Auschwitz. All the names here mentioned are those of Jews. Moreover we now see that Bernard Clarke, the first British torturer, was a Jew. The second British torturer, Major Draper (?), may also have been a Jew. The same for the two Americans: psychologist G.M. (Gustave Mahler) Gilbert and Colonel Harlan Amen. Finally, in Poland, Höss was faced with Polish Jews who treated him more or less the same way. When he wrote his "memoirs" it was under the supervision of instructing magistrate Jan Sehn, who was also probably a Jew.

Establishment historians dispute that Höss had been tortured and had confessed under duress. Since the publication of Rupert Butler's book in 1983, however, it is no longer possible for them to contest that. The Revisionists were right.

Since 1985 it is even less possible. In January-March 1985, the trial of Ernst Zündel, who was accused by a Jewish association and by the Crown of spreading Revisionist literature, took place in Toronto (Canada). Rudolf Vrba testified as a Crown witness. (He lives now in British Columbia). Affirmative and self-assured as long as he answered the questions of the Crown, he suffered a spectacular rout when cross-examined by Ernst Zündel's lawyer, Doug Christie. For the first time since 1945 a Jewish witness to the alleged gassings in Auschwitz was asked to explain his affirmations and his figures. The result was so terrible for R. Vrba that finally the Crown itself gave a kind of coup de grace to its key witness. That unexpected event and some others (like the leading specialist of the Holocaust, Raul Hilberg, being caught red-handed in his lies) really made of the "Toronto Trial" the "Trial of the Nuremberg Trial."

The unintentional revelations of Rupert Butler in 1983 and the unexpected revelations of the "Toronto Trial" in 1985 have succeeded at last in showing entirely and clearly how the Auschwitz myth was fabricated from 1944 to 1947, to be exact from April 1944, when Rudolf Vrba and Alfred Wetzler are supposed to have escaped from Auschwitz to tell their story to the world up until April 1947, when Rudolf Höss was hanged after having supposedly told the same world his own story about Auschwitz.

It is remarkable that from beginning to end that story comes from essentially or perhaps even exclusively Jewish sources. Two Jewish liars (Vrba and Wetzler) from Slovakia convinced or seem to have convinced other Jews from Hungary, Switzerland, the United States, Great Britain, and Poland. This is not a conspiracy or a plot; it is the story of the birth of a religious belief: the myth of Auschwitz, center of the religion of the Holocaust.



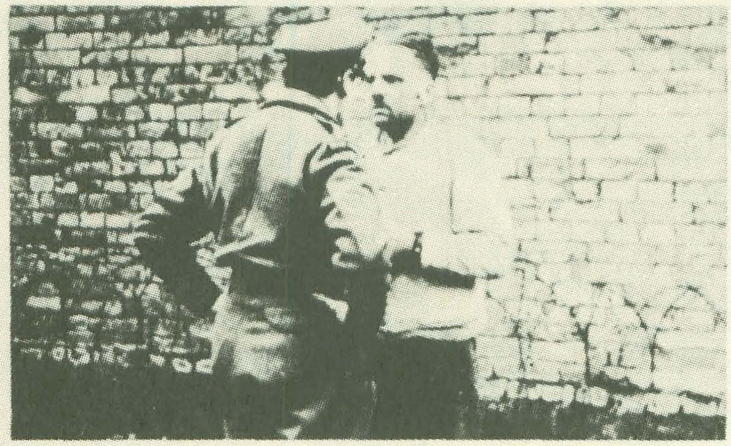
Das Geständnis von Rudolf Höß

Statement made voluntarily at Gaol
by Rudolf Hoess former Commandant of
Auschwitz Concentration Camp. on 16th day of March 1946

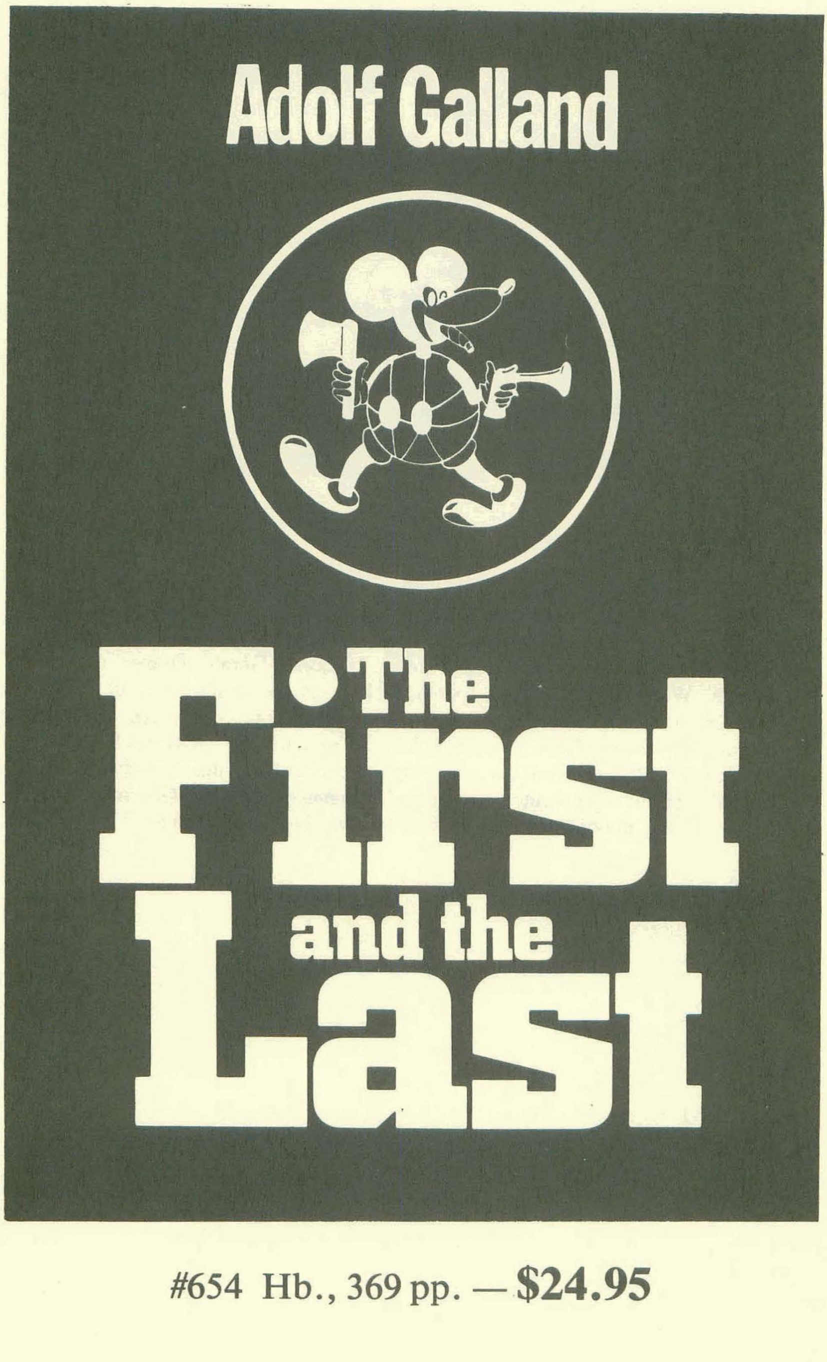
I personally arranged on orders received from Himmler in May 1941 the gassing of two million persons between June/July 1941 and the end of 1943 during which time I was commandant of Auschwitz.

signed.
Rudolf Höß
SS-Ostubaf.
e. Kdt. i. Auschwitz-Birkenau

This photograph was published after p. 161 of Lord Russell of Liverpool's *Geissel der Menschheit*, Berlin, Verlag Volk und Welt, 1960. The title of the original book in English is *The Scourge of the Swastika*. The caption of the photo says: "The Confession of Rudolf Höss." It is not NO-1210 or PS-3868 but only a very short text of 16 March 1946. You will note the difference between the handwriting of the text of the confession and Höss's own handwriting. In his introduction to the English edition of *Commandant in Auschwitz* Lord Russell claims to furnish some information on the conditions in which Höss had to sign that note, but, since he commits errors in the chronology of the events in that regard, his information is to be received with reservations. (See *Commandant in Auschwitz*, p. 18.)



The second photo was published as photo #22 in Tom Bower, *Blind Eye to Murder* (Britain, America and the Purging of Nazi Germany — A Pledge Betrayed), Granada: London, Toronto, Sydney, New York, 1981. The caption of the photo says: "Colonel Gerald Draper of the British War Crimes Group photographed as he finally secured the confession of Rudolf Höss, the commandant of Auschwitz, to the murder of three million people." As one remembers, Höss said in his "memoirs": "I received further rough treatment at the hands of the English public prosecutor, a major" *(Commandant in Auschwitz,* p. 174). Did this major become a colonel and was his name "Draper"?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Buchenwald: Legend and Reality

MARK WEBER

Buchenwald is widely regarded as one of wartime Germany's most notorious "death camps." In fact, though, this carefully cultivated image bears little resemblance to reality. Today, more than forty years after the end of the Second World War, the camp deserves another, more objective look.

History and Function

The Buchenwald concentration camp was located on a wooded hill outside of Weimar, in what is now East Germany. It was opened in July 1937. Until the war years, almost all the inmates were either professional criminals or political prisoners (most of them ardent Communists). Some 2,300 Buchenwald inmates were pardoned in 1939 in honor of Hitler's 50th birthday.

At the outbreak of war in September 1939 the camp population was 5,300. This grew slowly to 12,000 in early 1943, and then increased rapidly as many foreign workers, especially Poles, Ukrainians and Russians, were brought for employment in war production.[1]

During the war years Buchenwald was expanded into a vast complex of more than a hundred satellite factories, mines and work shops spread across a large portion of Germany. The most important of these was probably the Dora underground plant, which produced V-2 missiles. In October 1944 it became the independent Nordhausen (Mittelbau) camp.[2]

Many thousands of Jews arrived at Buchenwald from Hungary and various eastern camps in 1944 and 1945. Most had been evacuated by railroad from Auschwitz and other camps threatened by the advancing Red Army.[3]

The number of inmates increased enormously during the final months of the war: 34,000 in November 1943, 44,000 in April 1944, and 80,000 in August 1944. A monthly peak was reached at the end of February 1945, when 86,000 inmates were crammed into the severely overcrowded camp. Almost 30,000 inmates were evacuated from Buchenwald during the week before the U.S. Army takeover on 11 April 1945. Altogether a total of 239,000 persons were interned in the camp between 1937 and April 1945.[4]

The Commandant and His Wife

The first Commandant, Karl Koch, ran Buchenwald from 1937 until early 1942, when he was transferred to Majdanek. He proved a notoriously brutal and corrupt administrator who enriched himself with valuables stolen from numerous inmates, whom he then had killed to cover up his thefts. The camp physician, Dr. Waldemar Hoven, murdered many inmates in cooperation with Koch and the Communist underground camp organization. Koch was eventually charged by an SS court with murder and corruption, found guilty and executed.[5]

His wife, Ilse Koch, was involved in many of her husband's crimes, but the fantastic charge that she had lamp shades and other items manufactured from the skins of murdered inmates is not true. This allegation was made by the United States prosecution team at the main Nuremberg trial.[6]

General Lucius D. Clay, Commander in Chief of U.S. Forces in Europe and Military Governor of the U.S. Occupation Zone of Germany, 1947–49, carefully reviewed the Ilse Koch case in 1948 and found that, whatever her other misdeeds, the lampshade charge was baseless. He commuted her sentence from life imprisonment to four years and informed the Army Department in Washington: "There is no convincing evidence that she [Ilse Koch] selected inmates for extermination in order to secure tatooed skins or that she possessed any articles made of human skin."[7] During a 1976 interview Clay recalled the case:

> We tried Ilse Koch. ...She was sentenced to life imprisonment, and I commuted it to three [four] years. And our press really didn't like that.

> She had been destroyed by the fact that an enterprising reporter who first went into her house had given her the beautiful name, the "Bitch of Buchenwald," and he had found some white lampshades in there which he wrote up as being made out of human flesh.
>
> Well, it turned out actually that it was goat flesh. But at the trial it was still human flesh. It was almost impossible for her to have gotten a fair trial.
>
> ...The Germans picked her up and gave her 12 years for her treatment of her own people. But it wasn't really a war crime in the strict sense of the word.
>
> And those are the kinds of things that we had to deal with all the time.[8]

The Inmates: Life and Death

There is no question that many atrocities were committed against Buchenwald inmates. However, at least a very large portion of them were committed, not by the German SS guards, but by the underground Communist camp organization that gained almost total internal control after 1943. This remarkable situation was confirmed in a detailed U.S. Army intelligence document of 24 April 1945 entitled *Buchenwald: A Preliminary Report.*[9] This confidential analysis remained classified until 1972.

In a short preface, Army intelligence chief Alfred Toombs called this secret report "one of the most significant accounts yet written on an aspect of life in Nazi Germany" because it "tells how the [Buchenwald] prisoners themselves organized a deadly terror within the Nazi terror." The general accuracy of the report had been independently confirmed, Toombs added.

As large numbers of foreigners began arriving at the camp during the war years, the confidential report noted, the understaffed SS found it necessary to turn over an ever larger share of camp administration to the inmates themselves. In practice this meant that by 1943 the well-organized and disciplined Communist inmate organization had taken virtually total control of the camp's internal operation. As the report explained:

> The trusties had wide powers over their fellow inmates. At first they were drawn almost exclusively from the German criminals. This period lasted until 1942. But gradually the Communists began to gain control of this organization. They were the oldest residents, with records of 10–12 years in the concentration camps... They clung together with remarkable tenacity, whereas the criminal elements were simply out for their own individual welfare and had little group cohesiveness. The Communists maintained excellent discipline and received a certain amount of direction from outside the camp. They had brains and technical qualifications for running the various industries

> established at the camp.
>
> Their advances were not made without resistance from the criminals, but gradually the criminals were eliminated from power, partly by intimidation, partly with the aid of the SS. Numbers of the criminals were killed by beatings, hangings, or injections of phenol into the heart or of air or milk into the veins. The injections were a specialty of the camp doctor [Hoven], who became a partisan of the Communist faction.
>
> Besides the top positions in the trusty organization, there were a number of key Communist strongholds in the administration of the camp. One was the food supply organization, through which favored groups received reasonable rations while others were brought to the starvation level. A second was the hospital, staffed almost exclusively by Communists. Its facilities were largely devoted to caring for members of their party... Another Communist stronghold was the Property Room... Each German trusty obtained good clothing and numerous other valuables. The Communists of Buchenwald, after ten or twelve years in concentration camps, are dressed like prosperous business men. Some affect leather jackets and little round caps reminiscent of the German navy, apparently the uniform of revolution.

As a result of all this:

> ...Instead of a heap of corpses or a disorderly mob of starving, leaderless men, the Americans [who captured the camp] found a disciplined and efficient organization in Buchenwald. Credit is undoubtedly due to the self-appointed Camp Committee, an almost purely Communist group under the domination of the German political leaders.
>
> ...The trusties, who in time became almost exclusively Communist Germans, had the power of life and death over all other inmates. They could sentence a man or a group to almost certain death... The Communist trusties were directly responsible for a large part of the brutalities committed at Buchenwald.

Communist block chiefs, the report stated, would personally beat their charges and "sometimes forced whole blocks to stand barefoot in the snow for hours, apparently on their own initiative." The Communists killed "large numbers" of Polish inmates who refused to submit to their rule. They forced French inmates to give up thousands of Red Cross parcels. The report mentioned several particularly brutal Communist camp leaders by name.

It confirmed that the camp physician, Dr. Hoven, had been an important Communist ally who killed numerous criminal and anti-Communist political prisoners with lethal injections. An SS investigation team uncovered his activities during the war and sentenced him to death for murder. However, because of the critical wartime shortage of doctors, he was reprieved after 18 months in jail. After the war the Communists tried to protect their ally, but

Hoven was sentenced to death for a second time by a U.S. military tribunal and executed in 1948.

Camp Communists maintained close relations with the well-organized underground Communist party on the outside. "From Buchenwald an inmate went out regularly to establish contact with a Communist courier bringing news and instructions. Bound by his loyalty to the Party, the contact man never made use of his opportunity to escape personally." The Communist camp military organization had three machine guns, fifty rifles and a number of hand grenades. The German Communists lived better than any other group. "Even now," the report noted, "they may be distinguished from the rest of the inmates by their rosy cheeks and robust health, though they have been in concentration camps for much longer than the others."

Finally, the report's authors warned against the simplistic and naive notion that former inmates should be trusted and helped just because they had been interned in German camps. "Some are in fact 'bandits,' criminals from all Europe or foreign workers in Germany who were caught stealing... They are brutalized, unpleasant to look on. It is easy to adopt the Nazi theory that they are subhuman."

A book published in 1961 by the Communist-run "International Buchenwald Committee" of East Berlin proudly describes the wartime activities of the camp's Communist underground. It ran an underground camp newspaper, an illegal radio transmitter, an inmate orchestra (which played Communist songs), a large library and even a military organization. It held Communist ceremonies and political meetings, and carried out extensive sabotage of German war production.[10]

Former Buchenwald inmate Ernst Federn, a Jew, explained after the war how the Communist camp organization cooperated with the SS to increase its own power and eliminate opponents and undesirables. He recalled that the leader of the Jewish section of the Communist camp organization, Emil Carlebach, "declared quite frankly that for him only his [Communist] friends counted, that everybody else might as well perish." Federn reported that he personally witnessed two acts of brutality by Carlebach, who was a Block Senior from 1942 until 1945. In one case he ordered the death of a fellow Jewish inmate for allegedly mistreating inmates at another camp. On another occasion Carlebach personally beat an elderly Jewish inmate from Turkey to death because he had unavoidably relieved himself in the barracks.[11]

Similarly, an Englishman who spent 15 months in Buchenwald reported after the war that the Communist camp organization did not consider the Jewish inmates particularly worth trying to keep alive.[12]

In recent years some homosexual organizations have claimed that thousands of homosexuals were "systematically exterminated" in the German concentration camps. While it is true that many were interned as criminals, no homosexual was ever killed by the Germans for that reason alone. It is also worth recalling that during the 1930s and 1940s, homosexual behavior was considered an odious crime in most of the world, including the United States.

A former Buchenwald inmate recalled in 1981: "...Homosexuals were oppressed by the Nazis because of their social mores... In Buchenwald, a great number of them were not killed by the Nazis, but by political prisoners [Communists], because of the homosexuals' aggressive and offensive behavior."[13]

Day-to-day conditions were much better than most portrayals would suggest. Inmates could both receive and send two letters or postcards monthly. They could receive money from the outside. Inmates were also paid for their labor with special camp currency which they could use to purchase a wide variety of items in the camp canteen. They played soccer, handball and volleyball in their spare time. Soccer matches were held on Saturdays and Sundays on the camp playing field. A large camp library offered a wide range of books. A motion picture theater was very popular. There were also variety shows, and musical groups put on regular concerts in the central square. A camp brothel, which employed 15 prostitutes when the Americans arrived, was available to many inmates.[14]

Extermination Factory?

The Americans who arrived at Buchenwald in April 1945 found hundreds of sick inmates and many unburied corpses in the camp. Horrific photos of these gruesome scenes were immediately circulated throughout the world and have been widely reproduced ever since, giving the impression that Buchenwald was a diabolical mass killing center.

The American government encouraged this impression. A U.S. Army report about Buchenwald prepared for the Supreme Allied Headquarters in Europe and made public at the end of April 1945 declared that the "mission of the camp" was "an extermination factory."[15] And two weeks later a U.S. Congressional report on German camps, later used as a Nuremberg trial document, was issued which likewise described Buchenwald as an "extermination factory."[16]

This superficially plausible description is, however, completely wrong. The great majority of those who died at Buchenwald perished during the chaotic final months of the war. They succumbed to disease, often aggravated by malnutrition, in spite of woefully inadequate efforts to keep them alive. They were victims, not of an "extermination" program, but rather of the terrible overcrowding and severe lack of food and medical supplies due to a general collapse of order in Germany during the tumultuous final phase of the war.

Along with these indirect victims of the war were many healthy inmates. B.M. McKelway inspected Buchenwald shortly after the U.S. takeover as one of a group of American newspaper editors and publishers. He reported that "many of the hundreds of inmates we saw appeared to be healthy while others suffering from dysentery, typhus, tuberculosis and other diseases were living skeletons."[17]

One striking indication that Buchenwald was not an "extermination" camp is the fact that some of the internees were children too young to work. An estimated one thousand boys, aged two to 16, were housed in two special children's barracks. Train transports of Jewish children arrived from 1942 to 1945. Some arrived from Auschwitz in 1943. Other Jewish children came from Hungary and Poland.[18] The confidential U.S. Army report of 24 April 1945 noted the "most remarkable sight of the children" who "rush about, shrieking and playing."[19]

Thirty years after the war, even famed "Nazi hunter" Simon Wiesenthal conceded that "there were no extermination camps on German soil."[20]

The Gas Chamber Lie

Perhaps the most vicious lie circulated after the war about Buchenwald is the charge that the Germans exterminated inmates there in gas chambers. An official French government report submitted to the Nuremberg tribunal as a prosecution exhibit imaginatively stated: "Everything had been provided for down to the smallest detail. In 1944, at Buchenwald, they had even lengthened a railway line so that the deportees might be led directly to the gas chamber. Certain [of the gas chambers] had a floor that tipped and immediately directed the bodies into the room with the crematory oven."[21] The chief British prosecutor at the main Nuremberg trial, Sir Hartley Shawcross, declared in his closing address that "murder [was] conducted like some mass production industry in the gas chambers and the ovens" of Buchenwald and other camps.[22]

In a book published in 1947, French priest Georges Henocque, former chaplain of the Saint-Cyr Military Academy, claimed to have visited the inside of a Buchenwald gas chamber, which he described in detail. This particular story has been cited as a good example of the kind of Holocaust lies which even prominent personalities are capable of inventing.[23]

Another French priest and former inmate, Jean-Paul Renard, made a similar claim about the camp in his own book published shortly after the war: "I saw thousands and thousands of persons going into the showers. Instead of liquid, asphyxiating gases poured out over them." When fellow Frenchman and former Buchenwald inmate Paul Rassinier pointed out to the priest that there was no gas chamber in the camp, Renard replied: "Right, but that's only a figure of speech...and since those things existed somewhere, it's not imporant."[24]

In a book published in 1948, Hungarian Jewish writer Eugene Levai charged that the Germans killed tens of thousands of Hungarian Jews at Buchenwald in gas chambers.[25]

A widely distributed booklet issued by the Jewish Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith also spread the tale that people were gassed at Buchenwald.[26]

In 1960 the Buchenwald gassing story was officially declared a fable. In that year, Martin Broszat of the anti-Hitler Institute for Contemporary History in Munich specifically stated that no one was ever gassed at Buchenwald.[27] Professor A.S. Balachowsky, a member of the Institut de France, likewise declared in November 1971: "I would like to confirm to you that no gas chamber as such existed at Buchenwald...."[28] Holocaust writer Konnilyn Feig conceded in her book, *Hitler's Death Camps*, that Buchenwald did not have a gas chamber.[29] Today no serious historian still claims gassings there.

How Many Perished?

The numbers of persons estimated to have perished at Buchenwald while it was under German control vary tremendously. According to former inmate Elie Wiesel, the prolific Jewish writer and 1986 Nobel Peace Prize recipient, "In Buchenwald they sent 10,000 to their deaths every day."[30] This wildly irresponsible statement is, unfortunately, all too typical of the glib rhetoric of the man who was also chosen to head the U.S. government's official

Holocaust Memorial Council.

The 1980 edition of the *World Book Encyclopedia* claimed that "more than 100,000" died in the camp.[31] The *Encyclopaedia Judaica* put the number at 56,549.[32] Raul Hilberg, writing in the 1982 edition of the *Encyclopedia Americana*, stated that "more than 50,000 died in the Buchenwald complex."[33]

The U.S. Army intelligence report of 24 April 1945 (cited above) noted that the total number of certified deaths was 32,705.[34] A detailed June 1945 U.S. government report about Buchenwald put the total at 33,462, of whom more than 20,000 died in the chaotic final months of the war.[35]

The authoritative International Tracing Service of Arolsen, an affiliate of the International Red Cross, stated in 1984 that the number of documented deaths (of both Jews and non-Jews) at Buchenwald was 20,671, with another 7,463 for Dora (Mittelbau).[36]

While even these lower figures are regrettably high, it is important to realize that the great majority of those who died at Buchenwald were unfortunate victims of a catastrophic war, not Germany policy. Most of the rest were murdered by order of the Communist underground camp organization. Several hundred were also killed in Allied bombing attacks.

In one air raid against a large munitions factory near the main camp, British bombers killed 750 persons, including 400 inmates.[37]

American and Soviet Atrocities

Following the American takeover of Buchenwald in April 1945, about 80 remaiing German guards and camp functionaries were summarily murdered. Inmates brutally beat the Germans to death, sometimes with the aid and encouragement of American soldiers.[38] Between 20 and 30 GIs took turns gleefully beating six young Germans to death.[39] Inmates also commandeered American jeeps and drove to nearby Weimar, where they looted and randomly killed German civilians.[40]

After the war the Soviet secret police operated Buchenwald as a concentration camp for "potential class enemies" and other "possibly dangerous" German civilians. In September 1949, more than four years after the end of the war, there were still 14,300 inmates in the "special camp." (While Buchenwald was under German control, the number of inmates did not reach 14,000 until May 1943.) Conditions were horrible. Even the Soviet official in charge of the concentration camps in Germany, General Merkulov, acknowledged the severe lack of order and cleanliness, particularly at Buchenwald. At least 13,000 and as many as 21,000 persons died in Soviet-run Buchenwald, but no one has ever been punished for the deaths and mistreatment in this notorious postwar camp.[41]

One former inmate described his "five years of horrible seclusion, humiliations, interrogations and annihilation" in the Soviet-run camp in these words:

> People were mere numbers. Their dignity was consciously trampled upon. They were starved without mercy and consumed by tuberculosis until they were skeletons. The annihilation process, which had been well tested over decades, was systematic. The cries and groans of those in pain still echo in my ears whenever the past comes back to me in sleepless nights. We had to watch helplessly as people perished according to plan — like creatures sacrificed to annihilation.
>
> Many nameless people were caught up in the annihilation machinery of the NKVD [Soviet secret police] after the collapse of 1945. They were herded together like cattle after the so-called liberation and vegetated in the many concentration camps. Many were systematically tortured to death. A memorial was built for the dead of the Buchenwald concentration camp. A figure of death victims was chosen based on fantasy. Intentionally, only the dead of the 1937–1945 period were honored. Why is there no memorial honoring the dead of 1945 to 1950? Countless mass graves were dug around the camp in the postwar period.[42]

In an act of stunning hypocrisy, the Communist rulers of the postwar "German Democratic Republic" have turned the Buchenwald camp area into a kind of secular shrine. Every year, hundreds of thousands visit the site, complete with museums, bell tower, monumental sculpture and memorials dedicated, ironically enough, to the "victims of fascism."[43] There is nothing to remind visitors of the thousands of forgotten Germans who perished miserably during the years after the war when the camp was run by the Soviets.

The story of Buchenwald, like the story of virtually every German wartime concentration camp, is a microcosm of the entire Holocaust tale. The widely-accepted portrayal of Buchenwald, like those of the other German camps, contrasts sharply with the little-known reality.

Notes

1. The information in this section is from two sources: "Buchenwald," *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (New York and Jersualem: 1971), Vol. 4, pp. 1442, 1445; and U.S. government report B-2833 of 18 June 1945. Document 2171-PS, published in the "red' series," *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression (NC&A)* (Washington, DC: 1946–48), Vol. 4, pp. 800-833.
2. U.S. Army report of 25 May 1945. Document 2222-PS. Published in *NC&A*, Vol. 4, pp. 860-864; "German-Born NASA Expert...," *New York Times*, 18 October 1984, pp. A1, A12; "Ex-Nazi Denies Role...," *New York Times*, 21 October 1984, p. 8.
3. Document 2171-PS. *NC&A*, Vol. 4, pp. 800–833.
4. 2171-PS. *NC&A*, Vlo. 4, pp. 832-833.
5. Nuremberg testimony of Günther Reinecke, 7 August 1946. Published in the IMT "blue series," *Trial of the Major War Criminals Before the International Military Tribunal* (IMT) (Nuremberg: 1947–49), Vol. 20, pp. 438, 441–442; SS indictment brief against Karl Koch, 11 April 1944. Document NO-2360.
6. IMT, Vol. 3, pp. 514–515; Vol. 5, pp. 220–201; Vol. 32, pp. 267-269.
7. "Clay Explains Cut in Ilse Koch Term," *New York Times*, 24 Sept. 1948, p. 3.
8. Interview with Lucius D. Clay. *Official Proceedings of the George C. Marshall Research Foundation*. Transcript of a videotape interview shown at the conference "U.S. Occupation in Europe After World War II," 23–24 April 1976 at Lexington, Va., sponsored by the George C. Marshall Research Foundation, pp. 37–38. (I am grateful to Robert Wolfe of the National Archives for bringing this interview to my attention.)
9. Egon W. Fleck and Edward A. Tenenbaum, *Buchenwald: A Preliminary Report*, U.S. Army, 12th Army Group, 24 April 1945. National Archives, Record Group 331, SHAEF, G-5, 17.11, Jacket 10, Box 151 (8929/163-8929/180). I am grateful to Mr. Timothy Mulligan of the Military Branch of the National Archives for bringing this report to my attention. See also: Donald B. Robinson, "Communist Atrocities at Buchenwald," *American Mercury*, October 1946, pp. 397–404; and Christopher Burney, *The Dungeon Democracy* (New York: 1946), pp. 21, 22–23, 28–29, 32, 33, 34, 44, 46, 49.
10. Internationales Buchenwald-Komitee, *Buchenwald* (East Berlin: Kongress, 1961).
11. Ernst Federn, "That German..." *Harper's*, August 1948, pp. 106–107.
12. Christopher Burney, *The Dungeon Democracy* (New York: 1946), pp. 109, 124, 128–130.
13. *The Jewish Times* (Baltimore). Quoted in: "On the Holocaust," *The Gay Paper* (Baltimore), December 1981, p. 2.
14. John Mendelsohn, "Sources," *Prologue* (Washington, DC: National Archives), Fall 1983, p. 180; Konnilyn G. Feig, *Hitler's Death Camps* (New York: 1981), p. 96; K. Morgen testimony, 7 August 1946, IMT, Vol. 20, p. 490; testimony by former Buchenwald inmate Arnost Tauber at Nuremberg "I.G. Farben" trial, 12 Nov. 1947. Printed in: Udo Walendy (ed.), *Auschwitz im IG-Farben Prozess* (1981), p. 119; Roger Manvell

and H. Fraenkel, *The Incomparable Crime* (New York: 1967), p. 155; *Buchenwald Camp: The Report of a Parliamentary Delegation* (London: HMSO, 1945), pp. 4,5.

15. "Official Army Report Lists Buchenwald as Extermination Factory," *The Washington Star*, 29 April 1945, p. A7.
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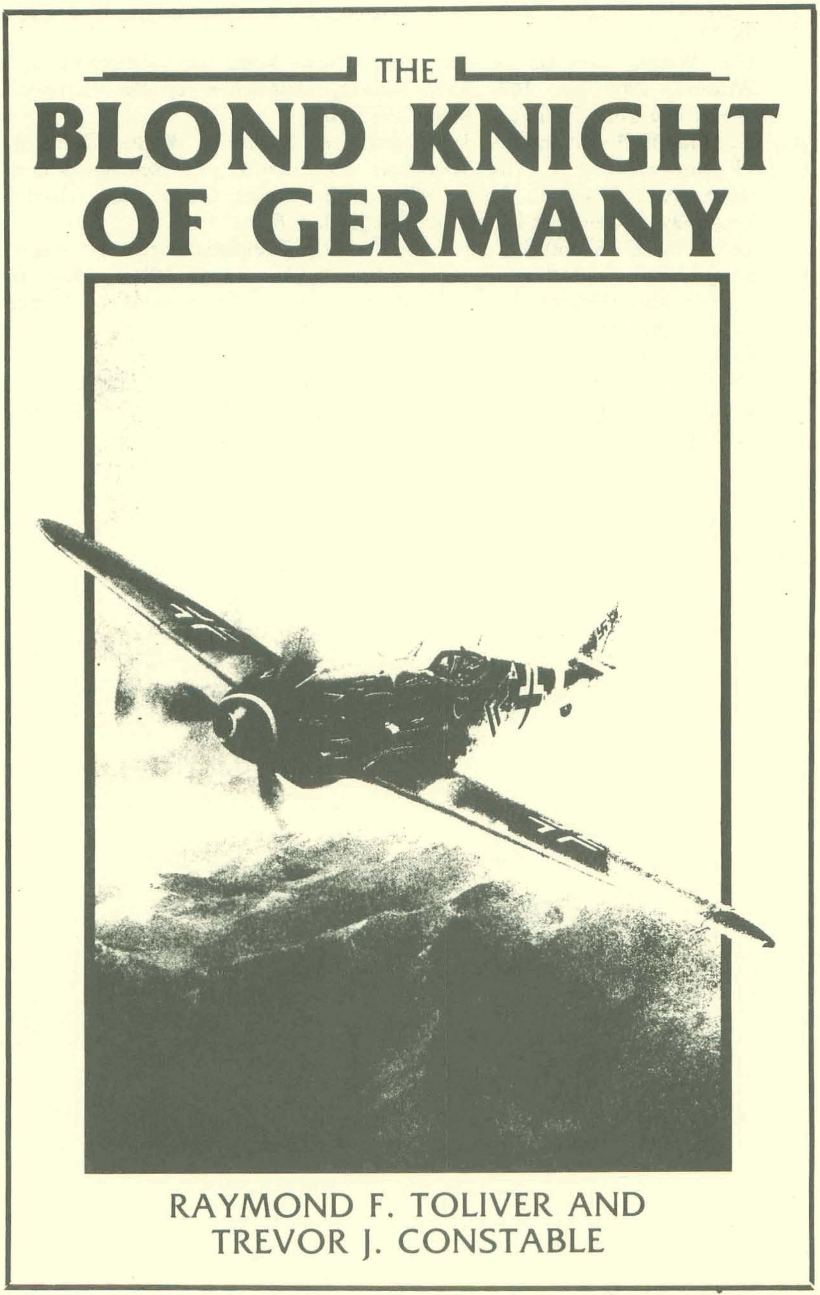

THE

BLOND KNIGHT OF GERMANY

RAYMOND F. TOLIVER AND
TREVOR J. CONSTABLE

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The Great Brown Scare: The Amerika-Deutscher Bund in the Thirties and the Hounding of Fritz Julius Kuhn

PETER H. PEEL

A note on the title: Liberal-Establishment historians have an all too effective propaganda device to promote approved ideologies. They invent labels which, in due course, are thoughtlessly parroted and tend to set the desired concepts in concrete, obviating any further need for argument. Thus the raids carried out by Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer on subversive and revolutionary Communist groups, mostly on New York's Lower East Side, in 1919 and 1920, have been derisively labeled "The Great Red Scare." This neatly glosses over the very real threat such groups constituted in the early days of Bolshevik euphoria and proselytizing and the horrors taking place concurrently not only in Russia but in Bavaria, Hungary, and elsewhere under Communist regimes. The potent label "McCarthyism" is a later example of the use of this tactic to deflect any expression of concern about subversive conspiracies. The "Bund," however, which is the subject of this paper, was never, as I will show, a danger or in any way unpatriotic or subversive. Its enthusiasm for the recovery of German pride, self-confidence, economy, and independence after 1933 was a natural enough emotion in an ethnic and cultural minority, especially one which had suffered great humiliation and persecution during the recent war. But there were many and powerful special interest swhich sought, with considerable success, to create the image of a frightful menace in the Bund. I have therefore chosen to call this paper by the title above. Besides, even the color "brown" seems a more appropriate modifier for the noun "scare."

In the feverish eight years of world history immediately preceding the entry of the United States into World War II, there streaked across the American political firmament a rather noisy meteor officially called Das Amerikadeutscher Bund, more generally referred to as the German-American Bund or simply as the Bund. In its brief lifetime, the Bund was the object of much hostility, suspicion and fear. It had an almost univerally "bad press" and wild exaggerations concerning its aims, its size and its resources were uttered with patent self-interest and *arrières pensées* by a number of politicians, journalists and assorted public figures. Yet post-war historians usually dismiss the Bund in a sentence or two when writing general histories of the American thirties. For example:

> The Bund appeared to be more powerful than it was. It attracted so few members and aroused so much antagonism that the Third Reich severed its ties with this stupid and noisy organization which it recognized to be a liability.[1]

The tone is still hostile and derogatory but one should recall this when reading the wild accusations by influential politicians and others *(vide infra)* that its funds and its programs were provided directly from Berlin. The same writer just cited offers an apparently contradictory assessment of the Bund's strength, however, when he tells us that in February, 1939, "22,000 members and sympathizers of the German-American Bund packed Madison Square Garden."[2]

When I first became interested in the history of the Bund about twenty years ago, there was not only no scholarly study of it or of Fritz Kuhn but not even a popular account.[3] Not until 1974 does any such appear and inevitably it is polemical and hostile in tone.[4]

The Bund itself maintained few records. Its newspaper, *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter*, is virtually unobtainable, and former members are now dead or elderly and fearful and unwilling to identify themselves or to be interviewed or quoted. Nevertheless, contemporary magazines and newspapers provide us with a great deal of information from which it is relatively easy to filter out mere invective and diatribe.

The questions to be addressed in this paper are as follows: What were the ideological, emotional and historical roots of the Bund and how did its enemies encompass its destruction and wreak vengeance upon its leadership? The Bund was, after all, itself a reaction. It was certainly not a "Goethe Society." And it did not spring into existence fully grown like Pallas Athene from the head of Zeus. In its final form was it a tactless, overly vocal, overly demonstrative reaction of largely unsophisticated elements to a painful and humiliating ethnic experience? Or was it, as its enemies alleged, a sinister and subversive alien conspiracy and a nest of treason?

Richard O'Connor, discussing Sinclair Lewis's contemporary cautionary novel, *It Can't Happen Here,* tells us:

> "It" never did happen here, or even come close to happening. Fascism...was *opera bouffe.* Its promoters were clowns and its followers slightly demented sheep. A Nuremberg-type rally in Madison Square Garden, with all its sweating solemnity and raucous appeals to unreason, was an hilarious spectacle when looked back upon.[5]

The passage just cited was published nearly thirty years after the demise of the Bund and the reader may consider it to be evidence of the persistence of unmitigated dislike for the Bund even among authors who, like O'Connor, are generally admiring of *Deutschtum* and the German record in the United States since colonial times.

Arthur Smith *(vide supra,* n.2) remarked to this writer that the Bund was "largely playacting."[6] Is this consistent with a sinister menace, one must ask. *Time* describes the *Bundesleiter* thus: "No great shakes as a chemist was *simple, earnest* Fritz Kuhn" [emphasis added].[7] On the other hand, O'Connor says:

> But appearances were deceiving in Kuhn's case. Actually he was a well-educated man, if not an intellectual. After the war he had attended the University of Munich and received a master's degree in science.[8]

Contradictions abound. On the one hand, we have an entirely undocumented assertion by Harold Lavine of the Institute of Propaganda Analysis that Dr. Goebbels had "created" the Bund;[9] on the other hand, we have the utter failure of successive official investigations to demonstrate any connection between the Bund and the Reich government bureaux beyond a natural and unconcealed exchange of literature. A feature article in the *New York Times* as late as February, 1939, concludes: "There has been no evidence of any active support of nazism [sic] in America on the part of the Nazi [sic] diplomatic force in this country."[10] Even Alton Frye, a virulently hostile commentator, says:

> Since it employed the appurtenances of a Nazi organization, the general conclusion was that the Bund received its directions ultimately from the Reich. This was not strictly true, but the Bund readily adapted itself to the will of the Nazi Party without the need of specific instructions. Shortly after the founding of the Bund, Kuhn led a delegation to Berlin for the 1936 Olympics, where he was received

> briefly by Hitler. This is the only known meeting betwen Kuhn and the Führer and there is no evidence that Hitler attached any special significance to it.[11]

According to Frye, Kuhn nevertheless claimed to Bund members that he had concluded a secret agreement with Hitler, which Frye clearly disbelieves. As we shall see, Kuhn's tendency to brag a little became a source of some embarrassment to Germany and a cache, *gratis*, of all kinds of ammunition for his enemies. One of the most energetic and implacable of those enemies was Congressman Samuel Dickstein. Dickstein, testifying at one of the interminable investigations, claimed to have knowledge of the details of secret discussions between Kuhn and Hitler. As history has shown to the present day, Dickstein's is an imaginative race. We may, perhaps, warm to Kuhn a little for his reply to Dickstein's charge. Quoting a contemporary radio comic, Kuhn said, "Vas you dere, Sharley?"

The Historical Experience of Germans in America

It is necessary in the course of explaining the roots of the Bund to offer at least a synoptic sketch of the role of the German element in this history of the United States. Construed as a minority ethnic group, Germans constitute probably the largest single element, exceeding even the Irish, with whom they have intermarried considerably. Estimates for those of German or part-German descent range up to 52 million, far exceeding the Blacks and, at least for a while, the "Hispanic" hordes pouring across the Rio Grande.

The usual date given for the arrival of the first Germans in the colonies is 1683, but one writer has asserted that the "damned Dutch" in Jamestown in 1607 were actually the first.[12] The "Dutch" governor of New Amsterdam, Peter Minuit, was born in Wesel on the Rhine, and about 1664, Johann Prinz arrived in New Sweden (now Delaware) with fifty-four German families from Pomerania.[13] The story of Jacob Leisler, the second governor of New York in the confused period of the English "Glorious Revolution" of 1688, is well known.

The first permanent and wholly German settlement did indeed take place in 1683, when Germantown, Pennsylvania was founded. The German immigrants of 1683 were Protestants of various fundamentalist sects. Francis Daniel Pastorius, their leader, was an educated man, but German immigrants, in 1683 and thereafter, were tradesmen, skilled artisans and farmers. Huebner lists carpenters, locksmiths, shoemakers and tailors.[14]

During the War of Spanish Succession (1701-1713), large numbers of poor refugees began arriving from the Rhineland, devastated by the aggressive designs of Louis XIV. In the single year of 1709, more than 600 families were shipped to the Carolinas. After the large influx of Hessians, many of whom stayed on after the Revolutionary War, German immigration continued at a fairly modest level. It began to increase again in the period 1830–1850 and positively exploded after 1852, amounting to perhaps a half a million in a very few years.[15] Again the preponderance seems to have been workmen, small tradesmen and peasants, although there was a fairly sizeable contingent of liberal intellectuals — refugees from the failed revolutions of 1848.

In the sunnier days before Europe began its suicidal "Peloponnesian Wars," Germans in America had no doubts about their successful integration into American life. Germans played a major role in the Federal Army during the War between the States. The XI Corps of the Union Army contained two entirely German divisions and the name of Carl Schurz is prominent in the history of the period. Germans also played an important part in the Westward Movement.

> Wine flowed from German vineyards, gold from German-discovered mines, wheat from virgin prairies broken by diligent and skillful German farmers, and blood from Indians who fought the cavalry regiments with their large proportion of German troopers.[16]

During the epoch between the Gilded Age and the outbreak of World War I, a number of German families moved up socially and were assimilated into the then Anglo-Saxon Establishment. Chief among them were the big brewing families of St. Louis and Milwaukee and the meat barons of Chicago. But for the Swabian and Bavarian peasants, the Austrian and German waiters and beer-garden proprietors, a certain, sentimental *Heimweh* (homesickness) was always present. The Songfest at the local Turnverein Halle (gym) was at least as natural and *gemütlich* (innocently cheerful) as a *Cinco de Mayo* parade in Los Angeles or St. Patrick's Day in New York.

The unification of Germany under Bismarck, though incomplete without German Austria, was by 1871 a source of great and justifiable pride for persons of German ancestry everywhere. So was the seemingly miraculous victory over erstwhile mighty France in six short months. Germans had no longer to smart under a somewhat patronizing view of them as rather quaint peasants and pedagogues with a medieval social structure.

In the late nineteenth century there reigned an era of great good will between the United States and Germany. German universities attracted many American students and the American university system itself was modeled after that of Germany and not, as one might have expected, after Oxford and Cambridge. German immigrants were encouraged and welcomed because of their enterprise, hard work, and respect for the law.

Not very long after the outbreak of World War I in 1914, this affection and admiration was to undergo an almost total *volte face* from which it never recovered. It is not necessary here to dissertate upon the causes of this change of heart. It was essentially due to the extremely effective and one-sided propaganda to which the American public was exposed. The effect, however, was that even before the entry of the United States into the war, public sentiment in the United States had become virulently anti-German. And the understandable reaction of German publications in the United States to defend their ancestral land only succeeded in exacerbating the hostility.

Huebner and O'Connor are both very graphic on the subject of the German-American reaction to Allied propaganda and the enormous advantage that the propaganda had in English-speaking, Anglo-Saxon dominated America.

> When eminent Americans of German ancestry defended the Central Powers with the same passion which innumerable other Americans were bringing to the support of the *Entente*, they were dismayed to find that in their case such efforts were held to be akin to treason. Their response — as human as it was unwise — was to speak with only greater anger and violence.[17]

Referring to the last months of 1916, O'Connor points out that "German-Americans" were now "only a few months away from the most traumatic moment in their history as part of American life."[18] Huebner writes that at this critical period, the inability of the Central Powers to present their case fairly and the incessant denunciation of everything German caused many German-Americans to become even more pro-German than they might otherwise have been. They bitterly resented the epithet "Hun" applied to themselves and to their kin in Europe as well as President Wilson's contemptuous remarks about "hyphenated Americans" and his doubts as to their loyalty.[19]

In describing H.L. Mencken's biting attack in 1920 on those "who had fought the war with their mouths" — the bullying of elderly German waiters for example — O'Connor has the following very interesting sentence for those of us who have witnessed the same propaganda warmed over for use in the Second World War.

> Nor did Mr. Mencken believe that posterity should overlook the *New York Tribune* liar who invented the story about the German plant for converting the corpses of the slain to soap.[20]

The teaching of the German language was forbidden by statute in twenty-six states.[21] Even Hermann Hagedorn, a great friend of Theodore Roosevelt, was suspected because of his German name and the fact that his water-tower "commanded" the arms factory at Bridgeport, six miles away.[22]

> The venomous hysteria even extended to the animal world and the lives of dachshunds, schnauzers, weimaraners and German shepherds (temporarily renamed Alsatians) were made miserable by small boys aping their super-patriot fathers.[23]

The end of it all, of course, was what John Maynard Keynes called "the Carthaginian Peace": the *Diktat* of Versailles. Not only Germans but even among Germany's former enemies there was a growing number of those who felt a great revulsion at the spectacle of the victorious democracies exulting in their unbridled orgy of revenge, and who perceived in the vicious spite of the victors the seedbed of another war. Harold Nicolson, a member of the British delegation at Versailles, wrote:

> We came to Paris confident that the new order was about to be established; we left it convinced that the new order had merely fouled up the old... conscious that the treaties imposed on our enemies were neither just nor wise... that seldom in the history of man has such vindictiveness cloaked itself in such unctuous sophistry.[24]

If Englishmen could harbor such sentiments, it is hardly to be wondered at that the shock and horror at the *Diktat* and the real or apparent cynical betrayal of the promise of a just peace implicit in Wilson's "Fourteen Points" were infinitely more acute among Germans and German-Americans. It is also pertinent to note that despite the starvation and misery of the immediate post-war period in Germany, the moral *stigma* which was forced upon Germany by the "war guilt" clause (Article 231) burned as a deeper humiliation and injustice in the German soul than the physical deprivation of food, territory, armaments or money. O'Connor writes of the lingering resentment of German-Americans for their treatment and their suspicion in the thirties that "F.D.R. was heading towards another intervention in Europe."[25] It was undoubtedly this sense of injustice and persecution which accounts for a certain degree of stridency in the public utterances of the Bund and its leaders.

I have quoted O'Connor at some length precisely because his hostility towards the Bund and his description of it as a small minority "infected" with the "Nazi virus" and as a "lunatic fringe" tends, I believe, to lend all the greater verisimilitude to his sympathetic description of the role of Germans in American history. Unencumbered by either love or loathing, we may now approach the study of the Bund itself and its enemies without recourse to the kind of epithets and disclaimers which O'Connor appears to find necessary. That the Bund acted rashly, and sometimes lacked the sensitivity and Levantine subtlety which might better have served the interests it sought to defend, may well be true. But it was surely a very human and natural reaction to the humiliations of World War I and to the Versailles *Diktat* as well as glory and pride in the post-1933 German renaissance. And if, despite its best and most earnest efforts, *Deutschtum* was fated never again to win the affection of pre-war days, it could at least win respect. German-Americans and Germans of the Reich alike could derive a thrill of pride at the new mood of hope, the achievement of full employment, and the general transformation in so short a time from pariah Germany into a Germany which spake with such confidence in the councils of World Powers. This writer as a teenager was a personal witness to that extraordinary and ubiquitous mood of joy and uplift, having spent a vacation in Germany from his native England, at that time plunged in the all-pervading gloom of the Great Depression.

Such was the historical milieu into which the Bund was born.

The Bund and its Enemies

The German-American Bund was, in fact, the third generation of successive organizations in the United States which were sympathetic to Germany and to National Socialism. The first of these was the Nationalsozialistische Vereinigung Teutonia.

> [A] number of Hitler's followers fled abroad after the abortive Hitler-Ludendorff *Putsch* of November, 1923, and it would have provided a logical motivation for the formation of a National Socialist organization elsewhere. The founder..., Friedrich Gissibl, had come to the United States in 1923 and probably founded the organization in October, 1924, in Detroit, later moving to Chicago. The life of the *Teutonia* was about seven years.[26]

The Teutonia was dissolved in March, 1932, and after a confused period suring which several insignificant and short-lived groups came and went, was effectually replaced in the summer of 1933 by the Friends of the New Germany.[27]

In January, 1934, Democratic Congressman Samuel Dickstein of New York obtained Congressional consent for the establishment of a committee to investigate "Nazi activities" in the United States. "It was thought that the Nazis would be sure to exploit the fact that a Jew, Samuel Dickstein, headed a committee investigating Nazi activities...therefore [Congressman John] McCormack was selected as chairman."[28] The work of the committee was "to create the image of a widespread conspiracy with truly giant proportions."[29] The German Foreign Office was besieged with complaints about the Friends' activities and began to disassociate the government of the Reich from any connection with the organization or with its successor, the Bund.[30] Prior to late 1935, these organizations had included in their membership American citizens, both native-born and naturalized, as well as some Reich citizens who were legal resident aliens or temporary residents such as students or businessmen. It is interesting to note that among the native-born American members were some with unimpeachably Anglo-Saxon names. Sympathy for Germany has never been wholly restricted to those of German descent.

In the interests of appeasing the increasingly inflamed teutonophobia in the United States, Deputy Führer Rudolf Hess, in October 1935, acting through the Foreign Minister, Baron von Neurath, issued the *Oktober Direktiv*. This was an order which forbade the participation of Reich citizens in the United States in domestic organizations or societies. Fritz Gissibl, on learning of the *Direktiv*, went to Germany in November where he attempted to persuade the Foreign Ministry to permit those who had taken out their "first papers" (that is, had made the initial application for American citizenship) to remain members of the Friends. He was unsuccessful in this endeavor.[31]

In March, 1936, as a result of both of the *Oktober Direktiv* and of the hostile publicity emanating from the McCormack-Dickstein Committee, a final convention of the Friends was held in Buffalo and the German-American Bund was created, phoenix-like, from the ashes of its predecessor. Fritz Julius Kuhn was elected *Bundesführer* or *Bundesleiter*. Kuhn had been an American citizen since 1934. He was born in Munich on May 15, 1896. He had served in World War I as a lieutenant in the Bavarian army and had been decorated with the Iron Cross. In 1923, he went to Mexico where he worked as a chemist. Subsequently, he entered the United States as an immigrant and obtained work as an industrial chemist at the Ford plant in Detroit. He became a naturalized citizen on December 3, 1934. While in Mexico, he had married a fellow student whom he had first met at the University of Munich. In due course, his wife, Elsa, presented him with a son and daughter (Walter and Waltraut).

During most of Kuhn's period of leadership in the Bund, he was on unpaid leave-of-absence from the Ford plant, which gave rise to the widespread but unsubstantiated allegation that "certain wealthy industrialists" had financed the Bund. It would appear that "certain interested parties" which had already evinced extreme hostility to Henry Ford saw in the allegations about the Bund's finances an opportunity to fire two salvoes for the price of one.

From June 1936 until its dissolution, the characteristic activities of the Bund and those of its implacable enemies take center stage. In default of the Bund's own publications, insights may be — with the greatest caution — achieved from newspaper and magazine articles of the period despite their polemical nature. An article, "Star Spangled Fascists" which appeared in the May 1939 *Saturday Evening Post* seems minimally fairer than most. Thus the "thriving state of our current Fascist crop does not mean that [they] receive cash from the Nazis." The article suggests that the links to the Fatherland are rather "a fraternal source of inspiration." It offers an estimate of "8000 to 10,000 uniformed, strong-arm storm-troopers." From the same article we learn that the Bund publishes a youth magazine and four local issues of the *Deutsche Weckruf* in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago and Los Angeles. Some twenty other German newspapers are alleged to give it "aggressive backing." The Bund's customary activities involve:

> a never ending round of meetings, the largest and most successful of which was the recent mass celebration of Washington's birthday in Madison Square Garden. That meeting was attended by some 22,000 Bundsmen and their sympathizers. These activities and the propaganda which they spread all appear to be within the law.

Describing the Bund's "folder of purposes," the writer says that it begins with the "embrace of the Constitution, Flag and Institutions of the United States" and then lists its enemies as *(inter alia):*

> all abuse of the pulpits designed to undermine the Morals, Ethics or patriotism of Americans; all Racial Intermixture between Aryans (White Gentiles) and Asiatics, Africans or other non-Aryans; all

> Subversive Internationalism; the liberal-pacifistic forces undermining the morale of Youth; Alien-controlled, international so-called Labor Movements; the Rackets of International Finance....

The Bund urges, the article continues, an American movement of liberation in order that "the dictatorship of a small racially and ethnically alien Jewish minority to which the mind of the entire nation is being rapidly subjected, may be broken."

> When *der Tag* comes, the Bund's young men will probably be the first on the barricades. But there is nothing in its program, either of venom or of violence, that cannot be matched in the propaganda of more authentically American groups.[32]

It is well to keep constantly in mind the wild variations in estimates of the Bund's numerical strength and by extrapolation to consider that all other conjectures, for example as to its treasonable or subversive nature, may be equally wide of the mark. We have just quoted one stimate of from 8,000 to 10,000 members. Here are a few other guesses: an article in the *Christian Science Monitor* suggests that while a press estimate of from 200,000 to 250,000 may be too high, 70,000 would be a reasonable figure.[33] On January 18, 1938, a Justice Department report which stated that no violations of Federal law were involved in the Bund's activities estimated the Bund's strength at the rather precise figure of 8,299.[34] In 1939, the Dies Committee — otherwise known as the House Committee to Investigate Un-American Activities, or HUAC, and chaired by Martin Dies — produced a witness using the alias "Ralph Metcalfe" who testified to a figure of 500,000.[35]

At a somewhat earlier date, Dickstein charged that the figure was 200,000 and a "war chest" of $20,000,000 existed (about a quarter of a billion in today's terms). To this, Congressman Thomas riposted that "Mr. Dickstein has more Communists in his own district than there are Nazis in the whole United States."[36] In retrospect, most authorities appear to have agreed that the larger figures for Bund membership were sheer fantasy, dreamed up by people with an enduring penchant for vast numerical exaggerations, no doubt; but Kuhn's own tendency to exaggerate a little added fuel to the all-too-willing fires. He mentioned a figure of 200,000 in 1938.[37]

In the same way, hints dropped by Kuhn of secret agreements he had made with the Reichskanzler himself in connection with the 1936 presidential election were acutely embarrassing to Germany. It was in 1936 that Kuhn and some fellow Bundists attended the Olympic Games in Berlin where Hitler received him briefly and accepted from Kuhn a donation of about $3000 for the *Winterhilfe* (Winter help) fund. Kuhn then implied that his support for Alf Landon had been arranged with the Führer. The German embassy in Washington immediately denied that there was any truth to the story or any attempt to influence American domestic politics.

In March, 1936, the Bund held a protest meeting against the proposal of New York's falsetto-voiced, half-Jewish mayor, Fiorello La Guardia, to install a bust of Hitler in the Chamber of Horrors at the New York World's Fair. Meanwhile the indefatigable Congressman Dickstein demanded that the House conduct a Congressional investigation of Kuhn's purported $20,000,000 fund. He contended that "thousands" of Bundists drilled every Sunday at Camp Upton; that Henry Ford had not destroyed the plates of his "anti-Jewish book." Kuhn merely answered that Dickstein was a Jew and a Soviet sympathizer.[38]

A certain Julius Hochfelder, head of an "anti-Nazi" organization, now entered the lists. He demanded that Attorney-General Cummings bar the Bund's newspaper from the mails, claiming that it was German-subsidized and under the direct control of Dr. Goebbels.[39]

A *New York Times* feature article of March, 1937, reported Bund membership at about 10,000 and ridiculed Dickstein's "200,000 army of stormtroopers." It admitted the Nazi ideology but said that there was no coercion, only education, in the activities.[40] The secretary of something called "The Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League" petitioned Congressmen Dickstein and Citrone to investigate a "new Nazi Camp Nordland" at Andover, New Jersey, claiming that it was the seventeenth camp for boys and girls operating illegally on American soil.[41]

The Bund Camps, Camp Siegfried on Long Island and Camp Nordland in New Jersey, appear to have been the sites for somewhat bucolic gatherings of Bundist families for picknicking, beer drinking, singing and some pro-German and so-called "right-wing Americanism" speeches as well as some calisthenics and marching about by uniformed children. They were, however, increasingly portrayed by their enemies as sinister, para-military training facilities. The reader may care to recall Mr. Hagedorn's water tower *(vide supra)*. In a lighter vein, we find a Bund leader, August Klapprott, protesting that the *New York Times* had falsely reported that mainly German beer was drunk at Bund rallies whereas in fact it was mostly American beer that was consumed.[42]

On July 21, 1937, Representative Martin Dies of Texas asked for a Congressional investigation of the "un-American activities of Nazis, Fascists, Communists and White Russians." Dickstein urged the adoption of Dies' resolution and warned that "twenty-one Nazi camps" were close to "big munitions factories."[43]

> You remember what happened in 1916... If you want to fix it so that *when we get into trouble again* [emphasis added] we will have to fight our enemies from within as well as from without, well, just let this thing keep going on like it is going.[44]

Kuhn answered Dickstein's charges by demanding, as he was repeatedly to do in the next two years, a Congressional investigation "to stop the nonsense...once and for all, I demand as an American citizen, an investigation of our organization and our camps."[45]

In August, Dickstein, for the second time, inserted into the Congressional Record a list of names of "persons spreading un-American propaganda." One smeared individual by the name of Dietrich Wortmann, not a Bundist, was the president of an amateur athletic association. Wortmann complained that under the law he had no redress for Dickstein's slanders and demanded that a committee of inquiry be set up to clear himself of them. Also in August, Julius Hochfelder asked the Immigration and Naturalization Department to revoke Kuhn's citizenship. Kuhn wrote to the Speaker of the House, Bankhead, again demanding an investigation.

But all reaction to the Bund was not hostile. Charles Masterbrook, Vice-Commander of the New Jersey American Legion, said that he could find no more fault with German-American gatherings than with St. Patrick's Day parades. Major-General George Van Horn Moseley, retired former Second-in-Command of the Army, said, "Nazis in America have only one mission...to see to it that the Communists shall not take possession of this nation."[46]

But teutonophobia was being extended even to sporting events. The Anti-Nazi League of Congressman Samuel Untermeyer (the gentleman who personally declared war on Germany in 1933 on behalf of World Jewry) proclaimed a boycott of the Max Schmeling-Joe Louis fight at the Garden. Bundists in Southbury, Connecticut, were arrested under a dusted-off blue law forbidding work on the Sabbath — they had been cleaning up their camp on a Sunday. Bundist meetings were increasingly subjected to violent attacks by organized mobs or else their proposed meetings were banned in advance by local authorities.

In May, 1938, the House approved the setting-up of the Dies Committee, which we have already encountered in these pages. Representative Maverick of Texas, however, said:

> It is time this House quit four-flushing and ballyhooing. You know this resolution is aimed particularly at the Nazi movement. It is not the Dies resolution. It is the Dickstein resolution... [and] will cause race-hatred and may prove the entering wedge for persecutions.[47]

Kuhn said later before the Dies Committee that "Jews are Jews first before they are Americans" and quoted the famous Rabbi Stephen Wise as telling a body of the American Jewish Congress (AJC) that he was not an American but a Jew and had been 4,000 years a Jew.

On July 12, 1938, a Suffolk County (N.Y.) court found six officials of Camp Siegfried guilty of belonging to an oath-bound organization and fined them $13,000 under what the *Times* called "a rarely evoked statute." Numerous witnesses denied any oath-taking but Judge Hill ruled that the evidence of the solitary State witness had equal weight with one hundred contrary testimonies.[48]

HUAC labored mightily and in August brought forth this mouse: "A close relationship exists between the German-American Bund and the Nazi government in Germany." This certainly did not satisfy Dickstein who complained that the Committee had failed to expose Nazi activities and had instead become a "Red-baiting excursion." A month or so later, Kuhn sent a notarized statement to Congress reiterating that the Bund had no political, financial or other ties with the German government. The only ties were those of sympathy for Germany's emancipation from the oppressions of the Versailles Treaty.

Typical of the quality of testimony presented to the Dies Committee is that of Mr. Arnold Gingrich, editor of *Ken, Esquire,* and *Coronet.* Mr. Gingrich declared that he had personally seen German Foreign Office documents which proved that the "job" of the Bund was not merely propaganda but to constitute a military organization for sabotage and espionage.[49]

The apogee of the Bund's career came with the great Madison Square Garden rally of 1939. The *Times,* reporting about it on the following day, said that 22,000 had attended with 1,700 police present to prevent violence. Nevertheless, desultory street brawls erupted over several adjacent blocks. As the audience left the Garden, reported the *Times,* "the most violent anti-Nazis began assaults on individuals."

The meeting had opened, the report continues, with the singing of the national anthem. There were cheers for Herbert Hoover, Senators Nye, Hiram Johnson, and William E. Borah; and jeers for President Roosevelt. G(erhard) W(ilhelm) Kunze said, "When a Henry Morgenthau takes the place of a Washington, the country is in a deplorable state." The audience roared a mass response when called upon to give the pledge of allegiance to the flag.

A man named Isadore Greenbaum tried to scale the platform and seize the microphone but was prevented from doing so by uniformed stewards. A former magistrate, Joseph Goldstein, was also prevented by the police from serving a writ for criminal libel on Kuhn. An anti-Bund Negro, Peter Saunders, was charged with cruelty to animals after he injured a policeman's horse.[50]

Injuries to people were minimal, however, and the violence was not remotely comparable to the violence in London which was a constant feature of the meetings of Sir Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists at the hands of the Left, or, in recent years, that directed against the National Front and the British National Party. To the bloody prewar violence this writer can bear personal testimony. What does appear incontrovertible from the reports in the *New York Times* and other major newspapers during the years of the Bund's existence, and that parallels events in London where ideologically similar organizations were, and are, concerned, is that violence was never initiated by the Bund but always by hooligans of the far Left. Conservatives know this pattern to be true for their own meetings. Rightist speakers in Britain, in Germany before 1933, and in the United States have frequently been subject in certain "red" areas to violent attacks and had their meetings broken up. This writer has never heard of a Conservative mob, armed with razors, broken bottles and coshes, breaking up a Leftist meeting. It is about as plausible a scenario as stabbings, gang rapes and drugs at a symphony concert. The *New York Times*, for example, reported on a group of young lady canvassers for Alf Landon being pelted with garbage and rotten vegetables in New York.[51]

The Hounding of Fritz Julius Kuhn

If the great Madison Square Garden rally of February 20, 1939, was the zenith of the Bund's activities, its nadir was soon to follow. The Bund simply dissolved but Orestes was not pursued by the Erinyes with more malignancy than the hapless Kuhn by his triumphant enemies for the next ten years.

On May 25, 1939, Fritz Kuhn was indicted on a charge of having stolen $14,548 of the Bund's funds and was arrested near Allentown, Pennsylvania. With Kuhn were three other high-ranking Bundists, Thomas Dixon, Gustav Elmer and Gerhard Wilhelm Kunze. No complaint had been lodged by any Bund member against Kuhn and the latter protested that he was not, as alleged, in flight but headed for speech-making commitments in Chicago and Milwaukee. The New York District Attorney, Thomas Dewey, claimed, however, that Kuhn was fleeing and was "just a common thief."[52] There were twelve charges in the indictment representing a possible fifty-year sentence for grand larceny and forgery. Kuhn's office was raided on May 2 and books and papers seized. Kuhn alleged that $1,380 had been stolen from his desk during the raid.

Kuhn was released on $5,000 bail after pleading not guilty. The following day he told a cheering audience of about 1,100 local Bundists in Milwaukee, "I have never taken a nickel of the Bund's money. Dewey is just fishing to line up the Jewish vote."[53]

The *Bund* itself regarded the charges as without substance or foundation as was made very clear early in July. "Kuhn vindicated by Bund membership" headlined the *New York Times.*

> At a 3-day annual convention of 330 Bund delegates from all parts of the U.S. which terminated July 3, Fritz Kuhn was re-elected unanimously Bund leader with full power of attorney over all Bund finances.[54]

On July 26, Judge Morris Koenig denied a motion on behalf of Kuhn for the return of documents seized by Dewey's men in the raid on Bund headquarters and on the private home of the Bund treasurer. On August 29 the Dies Committe requested New York authorities to prevent Kuhn from leaving the country. Kuhn denied that he had any such intention. The Dies Committee interim report stated that the Bund, William Pelley's Silver Shirts, and some other groups were "potent organizations for espionage and sabotage if war breaks out even though this country does not participate."[55] One can only marvel at this language and what it reveals even before war had broken out in Europe and more than two years before Pearl Harbor.

While on bail awaiting trial, Kuhn's public utterances were like those of a man either bent on his own destruction or still unaware of the hideous power of the forces now intent on destroying him. On September 3, the day that Britain and France declared war on Germany in defense of Poland (though evidently only in defense of its western half), Kuhn told a Bund rally that the Bund stood for absolute neutrality and no aid to any belligerent. "We shall see how far the Jewish war-mongers go; how far our youth will be driven into war." And G.W. Kunze, speaking at the same meeting, said, "When F.D. Rosenfeld is thrown out of the White House next year an American will be elected." Poles in the U.S., said Kunze, were collecting funds for the Polish army and he wondered what would happen if German-Americans behaved similarly.[56]

On September 5, Max and Louis Levant, publishers of the Wichita *Beacon*, telegraphed Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, asking that Fritz Kuhn be deported along with other Bund leaders as threats to peace and the neutrality *(sic)* of the country. Kuhn, on 26 September, ridiculed the Dies Committee's decision to seek his indictment for perjury and said that allegations of espionage and of being an unregistered agent of a foreign government should be investigated by the F.B.I. and a U.S. attorney and passed on by a court of law not by a committee. Dies replied that Kuhn was afraid to appear before the Committee because "he knows we've got him."[57]

Parenthetically, Dies, on 28 September, launched an attack on the Ukrainian Independence Movement, which he called Fascist and Nazi. A few days earlier, he had charged that precisely 2,850 Communists held positions in the U.S. government.

Two items in the *New York Times* are interesting in juxtaposition. On the front page appeared an article which stated that Thomas Dewey had demanded and obtained the raising of Kuhn's bail from $5,000 to $50,000. This being allowed and the money not being immediately available, Kuhn was jailed. The second item, on page seven, reported that William Z. Foster, chairman of the Communist Party of the United States, told the Dies Committee that he would not support the United States in the event of a war with Russia.

An appeal for the reduction of Kuhn's bail was rejected but by October 7, the Bund raised the extra money and Kuhn was released. He was immediately driven to Bund headquarters where he was surrounded and cheered by a small crowd.

On October 13, Kuhn issued a protest against what he termed malicious rumors deliberately disseminated by the D.A.'s office and widely reported in the Press that the bail money was comprised, in part, of the ransom money from the Lindbergh baby kidnapping and murder of March, 1932, more than seven years earlier. Kuhn said that no effort was being spared to poison the minds of the prospective jurors in advance of his trial.

Captain Fritz Wiedermann, German Consul-General in San Francisco, was reported as saying that he did not approve of the Bund which could only cause trouble because its members were American citizens and his advice was that they be good American citizens.[58]

On 6 December, Kuhn was sentenced to $2^1/_2$ to 5 years in the penitentiary. He promptly designated G.W. Kunze as his successor in Bund leadership. Kunze and G.J. Elmer were, however, arrested a few months later on "undisclosed charges." They were not held, however, and Kunze took over a rapidly disintegrating Bund after Kuhn's incarceration. There is some reason to believe that Kunze really did misappropriate considerable Bund funds, including monies that had been raised to provide for appeals on behalf of Kuhn. At all events, there was considerable infighting and the Bund simply fell apart. Kunze himself disappeared but was apprehended in Mexico and sent back to the United States where he was eventually tried for espionage and sentenced to 15 years imprisonment. By the time America entered the war, the activities of the Bund had diminished to the vanishing point.

On the subject of Kuhn's trial, however, some comments of *Time* magazine seem worth quoting. Said *Time:*

> The defense scored heavily; the prosecution auditor admitted an error of calculation of the alleged thefts, all but five charges against Kuhn were dismissed.[59]

Bund members, reported *Time,* testified that under the leadership principle, Kuhn could, in fact, spend the Bund's funds as he saw fit. After some titillating revelations about Kuhn's private amours — presumably for want of anything more serious — *Time*'s three-column article concludes:

> Introduced as evidence were two notes by Mayor La Guardia and Tom Dewey written before Kuhn's arrest —
>
> La Guardia: "Dear Tom: You can have him."
>
> Dewey: "I don't want him either. I guess the ashcan is the best place for him."[60]

Kuhn entered Sing-Sing on December 7, 1939. The penultimate mention of him in the files of the *New York Times* is almost ten years later, in June 1949, but that is a passing reference in an extensive article, cited and quoted below. For Kuhn's personal ordeal in the intervening years, we are largely dependent on that journal. On the day that Kuhn entered Sing-Sing, the *Times* reported without explanation that he would be barred from most of the prison's recreational diversions such as movies, football and baseball games, the gymnasium and the fellowship of the prison yard.[61] A later story reported that Kuhn was allowed no gifts or other packages.[62]

In May 1940, the House passed a $1,111,754,916 relief Bill for the next fiscal year, with $975,650,000 allocated to the W.P.A. from which Bund members were specifically to be denied benefits. No explanation was offered for this selective discrimination.

In the same month, Representative Leland Ford of California asked the House to revoke Kuhn's citizenship on the grounds that he had "mental reservations" when pledging his allegiance in his naturalization proceedings in December 1934. In October, 1940, Kunze, Klapprott and two other Bundists were indicted in Newton, New Jersey for "promoting hatred and hostility against people of the Jewish religion contrary to a 1935 New Jersey statute."[63] In December, an annual convention of 600 delegates of the American-Jewish Youth passed a resolution calling upon Congress to declare the Bund outlawed. It should be borne in mind that outlawry permits anyone to kill the outlaw without penalty and one might reflect on certain events half a century later.

In June, 1941, with Pearl Harbor still six months in the future, the New York State Parole Board turned down Kuhn's parole appeal on the grounds that he was a "hazard to public peace and security." The warden of Sing Sing is quoted as testifying to Kuhn's good behavior.[64]

In the following year, a small item in the *Tmes* reports leniency (a suspended six-month sentence for illicit possession of narcotics) for Mrs. Virginia Cogswell "whose testimony helped send Fritz Kuhn to State prison...."[65] In March, 1942, the Justice Department announced that it would deprive Kuhn of his citizenship and that as soon as he was released from Sing- Sing he would immediately be interned in a camp for enemy aliens for the duration of the war. In June, 1943, therefore, Kuhn was taken directly from prison to an internment camp in Texas.

An item, peripheral to our subject perhaps but worth noting as casting light on contemporary attitudes, appeared in the *Times* in 1944. It concerned a complaint by the "chief investigator of the Dies Committee" that Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau was impeding investigations of subversive by refusing to release information about their tax returns. Referring to such suspects (clearly *not* of the "Right") Morgenthau denied that many of them could be considered subversive or "un-American."[66]

In April, 1945, Kuhn's wife Elsa and his teenage daughter Waltraut were arrested by American army authorities near Nuremberg, where they had been living quietly since before the war. On September 17, Kuhn was deported from New York to Germany along with "500 undesirable Germans."[67]

But Kuhn's ordeal was far from over. A photograph of Kuhn in the *Times* in November is captioned: "Learning About Internment Camps: Fritz Kuhn, former German-American Bund Leader sitting it out in the internment camp at Augsburg, Germany, where he is confined."[68] The next story is datelined February 1946. A Lieutenant Roselinsky *(sic)* from Brooklyn, in charge of the internees in the cells of the Heidelberg *Schloss,* describes Kuhn as "a beaten, broken man" who "walks with his head bowed, eyes downcast and murmurs 'I beg your pardon' every few seconds." Kuhn is reported as hoping some day to return the United States. He is said to feel guiltless. He claims to have established the Bund to promote German-American friendship but admits that he failed. He says he would have undoubtedly dissolved the Bund the moment that America went to war.[69] Two days later as reported in the *Times* a U.S. army spokesman said that there was no plan to release Kuhn as:

> He is one of the greatest security threats in the American zone. We can't possibly release Kuhn as long as there are occupation forces in Germany, for he might gather together his henchmen and threaten our security.[70]

Anyone who has any concept of the condition of Germany in *Jahr Null* (Year Zero) or has comprehended the mental and physical condition of Kuhn from what has been said above, may be excused for wondering if the "spokesman" quoted was afflicted with a very unpleasant sense of humor or was mentally deranged.

Nevertheless, Kuhn was released on April 25, 1946 and entrained for Munich where Elsa, Walter and Waltraut were then living. A *Times* reporter noted with unconcealed satisfaction that "he will now, like other Germans, have to live on 1,275 calories per day."[71] On November 29, a small item reports that Kuhn is living "drably" with his wife and children and two other families in a sparsely furnished Munich house. The item, referring to Thanksgiving Day, is headed "No Turkey for Fritz Kuhn." The gloating tone is unmistakable.[72]

In the following Spring, Kuhn was again jailed. This time he was to be tried before a Bavarian "denazification" court. The *Times* published a photograph of an emaciated Kuhn talking to a guard in the German prison.[73] In February, 1948, eight months later, while still awaiting trial, Kuhn escaped from Dachau by simply merging with a crowd of visitors and walking out. The prison director was promptly dismissed. In April a Munich "denazification" court sentenced Kuhn, *in absentia,* to ten years imprisonment and forfeiture of all his property except a small sum of money. The evidence presented against him by the public prosecutor, one Julius Herf, consisted of 23 orders from Kuhn to Bund members concerning uniforms to be worn or American political candidates, such as Alf Landon, to be supported. In Kuhn's absence, no defense was offered, nor could be.

Kuhn was recaptured on June 16, 1948, in the French zone where he had filed a permit to open a chemical laboratory. He was returned to Munich in custody. The *Times*, reporting this, said, "He wept as he was escorted back to a cell here."[74]

Kuhn finally obtained a hearing before a German appellate court on February 14, 1949. He continued to maintain that the Bund had never been affiliated with the Third Reich. Except for two brief interludes, he had now been incarcerated since 1939. The court reduced his sentence from ten years to two years and he was released for the last time on February 22, 1949. When news of his release reached the United States, the insatiable sadism of certain elements was once more aroused. The "Non-Sectarian" Anti-Nazi League petitioned the United States Senate to make "comprehensive investigations of army and civilian authorities in the government [they meant "governance"] of Germany."[75]

The penultimate reference to Kuhn in the columns of the *New York Times* is in a feature article quoted *in extenso* below.

> Ambassador Dieckhoff sent a series of messages during 1938 pointing out the harm done to German-American relations by the activities of the German-American Bund.... His warnings seem to have been largely instrumental in the ultimate disavowal of Kuhn and the Bund by the German government.... Speaking of the possibilities of revolutionary activist conspiracies of U.S. Nazis, Dieckhoff, who exempts Kuhn from such charges, continues that such ideas are ludicrous in the United States and reminiscent of Balkan intrigues in which latter they might be mildy efficacious. In the U.S., says Dieckhoff, the undercover men of the Justice Department would have complete lists of names almost immediately such a conspiracy was formed.[75]

Those diplomatic reports would seem once and for all to put into proper perspective the "deadly menace" of this "monster" with his "250,000 or 500,000 highly trained stormtroopers and his $20,000,000 war chest" and the necessity of imprisoning and persecuting him for ten years. And our last mention of Kuhn is a belated obituary notice in the *Times* in 1953 which reports that Fritz Julius Kuhn died on December 14, 1951. The information was given to the press by Kuhn's former lawyer, Otto Gritschneider. No mention was made of Waltraut, but Gritschneider also revealed that Kuhn's widow, Elsa, and son, Walter, were in Mexico where Walter was serving in the Mexican army.

To round out this brief study, I beg to submit a few personal conclusions.

Fritz Kuhn, *Magister Artium* and winner of the Iron Cross, may well have been typical of the Bund itself. If so, what emerges is a story of a provocative minor movement but not a treasonable one, which made enemies far beyond its strength to defy. Its members rejoiced in their ethnic and cultural roots and dreaded what they foresaw as another war against Germany in the near future which would be brought about by the machinations of her implacable enemies (a representative of whom had already "declared war" on Germany as early as 1933).

The Bundists nurtured the hope — which at times one senses was even to them a forlorn one — that through propaganda or enlightenment (whichever way it is seen) disaster might be averted.

In the *Bundesleiter* we find a man, stubborn, courageous, sincere — even at times witty — more than a little rash in his actions and somewhat lacking in charm. Kuhn is a German — *deutsch* and *deutlich* — without guile. No "fine Italian hand" for Kuhn. In some ways, he and his followers may have been, as Dieckhoff and others feared, more dangerous to the very causes they espoused than to their enemies. Kuhn is the Sorcerer's Apprentice, mercilessly destroyed by the forces he evoked. But if we cannot quite elevate him to the rank of tragic hero, we can at least scorn the obvious chicanery and perversion of justice which not only led to his initial imprisonment but to the ten years of hounding and persecution and prolonged sadistic cruelty which followed. What was Fritz Kuhn's crime? I cannot discern one. His own organization absolved him from the patently trumped up charge of stealing its funds. No other charges were ever substantiated against him, or indeed, levied. Unless a certain lack of discretion be a crime, I am forced to say that "I find no fault with this man."

Bibliographic Note

This study has dealt, after the dissolution of the Bund and Kuhn's incarceration in Sing-Sing, with the subsequent fate of Kuhn himself. Other senior members of the Bund were also subjected to various forms of persecution. This has been covered, though somewhat sketchily, in a book published in 1974 by Cornell University Press. The author is, as expected, hostile to the Bund and its members. However, the dearth of published material on the subject makes even polemical works useful when treated with caution. The author of this particular books is Sander A. Diamond, the title, *The Nazi Movement in the United States: 1924-1941. Caveat lector.*

Notes

1. William E. Leuchtenberg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal: 1932-1950* (New York, 1963) p. 276 & 276n.
2. *loc. cit.*
3. Arthur L. Smith, Jr., *The Deutschtum of Nazi Germany in the United States* (The Hague, 1965) p. 92n.
4. *See* Bibliographical Note.
5. Richard O'Connor, *The German-Americans: An Informal History* (Boston & Toronto, 1968) p. 441.
6. Professor Arthur L. Smith in a conversation with the author at Los Angeles, May 19.
7. *Time*, December 4, 1939, p. 18.
8. O'Connor, *German-Americans*, p. 441.
9. Harold Lavine and James Wechsler, *War Propaganda and the United States* (New Haven, 1940) p. 35.
10. *New York Times*, February 26, 1939, IV, 6.
11. Alton Frye, *Nazi Germany and the American Hemisphere* (New Haven & London, 1967) p. 82.
12. Theodore Huebner, *The Germans in America* (Philadelphia & New York, 1962) p. 2ff.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 4.
14. *Ibid., passim.*
15. *Ibid.*, p. 61. In default of confirmatory statistics, this figure should, perhaps, be taken *cum gtano salis.*
16. *Ibid.*, p. 146.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 389.
18. *Ibid.*, p. 405.
19. Huebner, *Germans in America*, p. 149.
20. O'Connor, *German-Americans*, p. 415. Now where have we heard about human soap before? *Déja vu*, perhaps?
21. *Ibid.*, p. 411-12.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 413-14.
23. *Ibid.*
24. Harold Nicolson, *Peacemaking 1919* (New York, 1965) p. 187.
25. O'Connor, *German-Americans*, p. 434.
26. Smith, *Deutschtum*, pp. 61–62.
27. *Ibid.*, p. 69.
28. *Ibid.*, p. 81n.
29. *Ibid.*, p. 82-84.
30. Frye, *Nazi Germany*, p. 63.
31. Smith, *Deutschtum*, p. 81n.
32. Stanley High, "Star Spangled Fascists," *Saturday Evening Post*, May 30, 1939, p. 6.
33. George W. Pate, "How The Nazis Penetrated America," *Christian Science Monitor*, October 31, 1942.
34. *New York Times*, January 13, 1938, p. 4.
35. This individual is referred to in later documents as John Metcalfe. Either name, in fact, appears to have been a *nom de guerre* for a Mid-European immigrant who had been "planted" in the Bund by a Chicago tabloid.

36. *New York Times*, May 4, 1939, p. 2.
37. *Ibid*., March 16, 1937, p. 3.
38. *Ibid*., April 26, 1938, p. 3.
39. *Ibid*., March 12, 1937, p. 15.
40. *Ibid*., March 19, 1937, p. 11.
41. *Ibid*., March 21, 1937, p. 1
42. *Ibid*., July 17, 1937, p. 13.
43. *Ibid*., July 23, 1937, p. 10.
44. *Ibid*., July 22, 1937, p. 27.
45. *Ibid*., July 28, 1937, p. 4.
46. O. John Rogge, *The Official German Report* (New York, 1961) p. 285.
47. *Ibid*.
48. *New York Times*, July 13, 1938, pp. 1, 16.
49. *Ibid*., October 7, 1938, p. 1.
50. *Ibid*., February 21, 1939, p. 5.
51. *Ibid*., October 16, 1936, p. 20.
52. *Ibid*., May 26, 1939, p. 1.
53. *Ibid*., May 28, 1939, p. 1.
54. *Ibid*., July 4, 1939, p. 4.
55. *Ibid*., August 30, 1939, p. 11.
56. *Ibid*., September 4, 1939, p. 17.
57. *Ibid*., September 27, 1939, pp. 1,9.
58. *Ibid*., November 26, 1939, p. 32.
59. *Time*, December 4, 1939, p. 18 (*see* note 5).
60. *Ibid*.
61. *New York Times*, December 7, 1939, p. 23.
62. *Ibid*., January 29, 1940, p. 32.
63. *Ibid*., October 11, 1940, p. 12.
64. *Ibid*., June 19, 1941, p. 10.
65. *Ibid*., March 17, 1942, p. 10.
66. *Ibid*., September 19, 1944, p. 11.
67. *Ibid*., September 17, 1945. p. 7.
68. *Ibid*., November 29, 1945, p. 8.
69. *Ibid*., February 19, 1946, p. 8.
70. *Ibid*., February 21, 1946, p. 27.
71. *Ibid*., April 26, 1946, p. 6. The calorific figure given was the official entitlement. Few Germans, in fact, were able to obtain it and in any case it was mostly carbohydrates.
72. *Ibid*., November 29, 1946, p. 32.
73. *Ibid*., July 26, 1947, p. 5.
74. *Ibid*., June 18, 1948, p. 11.
75. *Ibid*., July 17, 1949, p. 24.
76. *Ibid*., July 17, 1949, p. 24.

Death and Rebirth: European Political Observations

DR. ANDREAS WESSERLE

Concerning constitutions, Montesquieu wrote in volume IX of his work *Esprit des lois:* "Some…have as their purpose…the glorification of the State *("la gloire de l'état"),* others the political freedom of the citizen." If an unbiased observer studies those nations of the world which have succeeded in retaining their political sovereignty to this day, he will find that the majority of them have honored the universally acclaimed human rights mainly in the breach, exploiting them only when expedient, and then chiefly for the deeper entrenchment of their power or for the expansion of their territorial domain. The battle-cry of the mobilization of the masses did not die with bygone epochs.

Montesquieu, however, ignores a small, third group which appears destined to perpetual subjection to the freedom and the glory of others. Recent events place this observation in proper perspective. As early as 1976 the Bonn correspondent of a Tyrolean newspaper neatly summarized a notion that has been held for decades, even centuries, to the effect that in regard to the Common Enemy — Germany — the Western and Eastern powers are of one accord. Even in 1986 it often appeared as though the only solid connecting link between the two power blocs, drifting ever further apart, was their animosity toward Germany. Of course this includes their continuing effort to infuse in the political and cultural void in the heart of Europe, the core of the most dynamic continent in history, their own ideologies.

Current trends may be summarized under the following headings:

I. Excerpts from contemporary nationalism.
II. The phenomenon of Russia.
III. The phenomenon of America.
IV. America and Germany.
V. A new Counter-Reformation?

I. Excerpts from Contemporary Nationalism

Despite widely divergent interpretations, the festivities which in 1984/85 commemorated the invasion of Normandy, France, as well as the end of the Second World War, were embarrassingly archaic in nature. Once again, they showed that the Western powers have learned nothing new from their campaign of 1944/45, a struggle which was one-sidedly military on their part, and short-sighted both politically and strategically. At the time, they overwhelmed Europe, presided over the division of the world at the conferences of Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam, and turned half of Europe over to the marauding Red Army. To this day Germany, Europe and the world remain divided.[1]

If anything, 1986 turned out even worse than the preceding year. President Reagan's initially wise decision to "let bygones be bygones" and to visit a German military cemetery at Bitburg — made at the prompting of then White House advisor Deaver — was twisted into a farce by Zionists on both sides of the Atlantic in 1985. In 1986 — last year — and apparently onward into an indefinite future — in Austria, the "third German state," a campaign of political defamation was waged with characteristic factual as well as emotional imbalance by the American media against Dr. Kurt Waldheim, a conservative candidate for the largely ceremonial office of the presidency of the Republic of Austria. Why the theatrics? No one knows for sure. But informed Washington observers remembered that, as Secretary General of the United Nations, Waldheim had been sympathetic to the plight of certain Third World nations, even evincing a kind of tolerance toward the representatives of the Palestinians and their spokesmen among the Arab and Islamic states. Austrian voters indignant at outside interference elected Dr. Waldheim president, an outcome somewhat surprising after the innumerable "brainwashing" campaigns foisted on them during the past four decades.

Austrian-*Italian* relations, on the other hand, continue to be affected by the second-class status of the Germans of the South Tyrol, an Austrian province annexed by Italy at the end of the First World War with the blessings of President Woodrow Wilson.

Recently, continuing a venerable tradition of self-aggrandizement, Italy's Christian Democratic foreign minister, Andreotti, drew a characteristic conclusion before an assembly of Communists: "The reunification of Germany equals 'pan-Germanism.' It must be prevented."[2] Andreotti conveniently overlooked exactly those "pan-movements" which, from the middle of the 19th century to this day, have repeatedly proved their magnetic force and their power of impact: pan-Slavism in neighboring Yugoslavia and in much of eastern Europe being one of the most successful. Apparently, Signore Andreotti's conscience is troubled over the treatment of the German South Tyrolers, whose rights of self-determination, laid down in writing, have for the most part remained an unfulfilled dream. As an example of the officially induced Italianization under the aegis of *sacro egoismo* ("sacred egoism"), the overwhelmingly German city of Bozen (Bolzano) still boasts a Fascist "Victory Monument" erected under Mussolini, as well as a military compound named in honor of General Luigi Cadorna, the Italian commander of the blood-drenched Alpine and Isonzo fronts of the First World War. Never mind the other, numerous transgressions against the Tyrolers' sensibilities. But let it be remembered that South Tyrol's 1400 illustrious years as part and parcel of Germany and Austria, as a brilliant contributor to its culture and civilization, cannot be wiped out with the stroke of a pen. All the same, it is remarkable to what extent Italy, as one of the losers of the Second World War, has managed to capitalize on its strategically important location and its otherwise slender resources.

Even more surprising is the fact that in recent years a *German* political entity has rediscovered the greatness of its national past: the German Democratic Republic.

The exhibition entitled: "Baroque and Classicism — 18th-Century Centers of Art in the German Democratic Republic," which was concluded at Schallaburg Castle in Lower Austria in October 1984, represented one of the best instances of this process of "finding one's self again." Exhibits from Dresden, Potsdam, Wörlitz and Weimar convey insight into the spirit of this German renaissance. The political implications cannot be overlooked: the works shown date back as it does to the era of August the Strong of Saxony, King of Poland and occasional ally of Tsar Peter the Great of Russia, then on in time to Schiller and Goethe, the luminaries of a brilliant age prior to the dark triumph of the Industrial Revolution.

It is politics *pur sang* that is being conducted by Willi Stoph, Prime Minister of the GDR (German Democratic Republic), however. In *"Einheit,"* the SED ("Socialist Unity Party of

Germany": the Muscovite German Communists) party journal, he accuses the Federal Republic of Germany of "...ratifying the establishment of the West German separate state on September 7, 1949 [and thereby] national treason was officially sanctioned." In view of this divisive policy the establishment of the GDR had allegedly "...become a necessary consequence."[3] West German politicians disturbed by the revived national tone of the "workers' and farmers' state" are hit with the added charges of "revanchism" and "imperialism," no doubt to the relief of the Kremlin, which is observing developments in Germany with attention. At the same time, however, the West German foe is being discomfited, dislocated mentally and demoralized by the maneuvers of other SED functionaries, such as the President of the People's Chamber, Horst Sindermann, who appeal to "all powers" conscious of their responsibilities for the destinies of their nations and of mankind, and who desire a "dialogue." The GDR is in support of all "opportunities for a negotiated end to the arms race..."[4] An unmistakable invitation to the "Greens," who are making inroads into the political life of the Federal Republic, for their sympathizers in the SPD (Social Democratic Party) which at its party convention in Essen experienced a move to the left, as well as for the numerous adherents of disarmament in the Netherlands, Belgium, Britain and other Western nations.

SED leaders seem to be batting .500. Party Secretary Honecker's proposed visit to West Germany — sincerely, if naively, welcomed by West Germans desperate for a dialogue on unification — was squelched by Moscow for the time being. On the other hand, during the January, 1987, parliamentary elections in the Federal Republic, the Greens increased their overall representation significantly: from 5.6 percent and 27 seats in the Bundestag in 1983 to 8.3 percent and 42 seats in 1987 — at the expense of the SPD which fell from 38.2 percent and 193 seats in 1983 to 37 percent and 186 seats this election, the worst SPD showing since 1961. The combined, conservative, ruling "union," the CDU/CSU, fared even worse, however. They recorded a total of but 44.3 percent and 223 seats — their very worst result since 1949, the year of inception of the Federal Republic of Germany. In 1983 they had won 48.8 percent and 244 seats in parliament. Who picked up the missing votes this time? It was the FDP, their government coalition partner, the party of Foreign Minister Genscher, well known for his policies of *détente* and *rapprochement* with the demands of the Warsaw Pact states. (The FDP improved its standing from 7 percent and 34 seats at the last elections to 9.1 percent and 46 seats in 1987.)

Any lessons to be gained from this election with a low voter turnout, for Germany, of 84.4 percent, also the lowest since 1949?[5]

Just this: the slight, but steady and ominous gain of the anti-establishment Greens and the solid recovery of the pro-appeasement FDP at the expense of the CDU/CSU in a sense parallel the shift away from the classical "establishment" parties of the early Weimar Republic, the then moderate SPD and the smaller parties of the bourgeois center (the German Party, the German People's Party, etc.), away from the responsible, national parties toward the more radical "Independent Social Democratic Party," the Communists and other revolutionary splinter groups. The best that can be said about the 1987 elections is that a good number of disenchanted conservative and patriotic voters stayed home. The alienation may spread. The Federal Republic of Germany, the epitome of timidity, had better be on guard lest she be one-upped by her smaller "*nouveau*-German" neighbor to the east with its powerful demands for national-proletarian legitimization. *Preussens Gloria* yet lives.

II. The Phenomenon of Soviet Russia

Too late, much too late to recover vital positions that were lost, former U.S. President Nixon conceded in his book *The Real War* that on the stage of world events it had been Britain, Germany, Austria-Hungary, the Ottoman Empire and Japan who had held in check and contained Great Russia's historical expansion. These powers were destroyed or driven to the brink of collapse during the First and Second World Wars. The role of global counterweight fell to an unprepared America. Though this description may represent an oversimplification of the facts as concerns the United States, Nixon's main thesis still stands on solid ground.[6]

The Soviets are masters at exploiting the weaknesses of their opponents. In the course of the deteriorating relations between the two world powers it has been the goal of the USSR to damage, by means of Soviet *agitprop* which often enlists the American news media as its prime handmaiden, the most important and vulnerable ally of the United States: the Federal Republic of Germany. Concurrently, every opportunity is exploited to encourage the widening of any divergent currents into unbridgeable differences.

With cosmopolitan sophistication Soviet foreign policy pursues a dual goal: (1) The maintenance and the increase of her territorial, political and ideological *(i.e.,* quasi-religious) conquests. Here Moscow has accumulated five centuries of experience. In the foot-steps of the Tsar's tenacious forward drive, which converted the 14th-century vassal state of the Tatars into the world's largest territorial empire, Russia in the 19th and 20th centuries appropriated the political dynamism of Panslavism and Slavophilism (a dynamism directed toward the goals of establishing hegemony over both the Near East and Central Europe) and, while exploiting earth-shaking crises, continued her push on toward Königsberg, Berlin and the gates of Lübeck, only a hair's breadth away from the key ports of the North Sea. (At the close of the Second World War, unsupported by American officialdom, Churchill and Eden engaged in a desperate race with the Red Army to deny it those very ports and the jutting peninsula of Jutland.)

(2) In keeping with the world-revolutionary tenets of Marxism-Leninism Soviet Russia has gained a foothold on the shores of the Atlantic, the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean. In the ascent to superpower status, her time-tested perseverance as well as the brief attention-span of her bourgeois adversaries have been to her advantage.

Despite the impressive gains of this first-rate but landlocked power, Soviet Russia has also inherited the less advantageous attributes of her ancestors, a Godsend to others. These include (aside from her unfavorable geopolitical location as compared to the United States): (1) the ethnically varied composition of the populations within her sphere of power and in the USSR herself; (2) the critical state of the military balance with China; and as a pivot point, (3) the perennial "problem of succession" to the helm of state.

The Germans of the Soviet Zone, the Hungarians, the Poles, the Czechs and, prior to these, the Serbs and Croatians have openly manifested their discontent with Soviet rule since before 1953. This weakness remains critical to this day when, due to the diminishing birth rate, the *Staatsvolk,* the Russians, will constitute less than half of the total Soviet population a few years hence. The non-Russian majority — particularly the prolific Islamic peoples of Central Asia — will want to increase their autonomy but encounter official resistance, possibly due to an armaments-related economic crisis. In such a situation, the Soviet leadership might be unable to cope with its military involvements, *e.g.* in Central Asia or the Far East. For in the rear of the Soviet anti-NATO front, China and Japan are recovering their vitality. In stark contrast to Western Europe's and West Germany's official policy of *détente* the powers of the Far East are by no means willing to concede to their powerful neighbor the territories lost to Russia in the course of the 19th and 20th centuries, concessions which would impugn their sovereignty or forfeit it altogether.

If the Soviet leadership does not come to grips with these problems — and it is making energetic efforts to do so under Gorbachev, foreign policy advisor Dobrynin and Foreign Minister Shevardnadze — their empire will disintegrate into chaos. In order to avoid this they will be amenable to far-reaching compromise with Germany and Europe — compromise they are in the process of reaching with China and Japan — particularly prior to an unstable period of internal power struggles or rather, to avoid such a period altogether. This scenario does not exclude a period of adventurism in foreign policy. More likely, the Soviet leaders — and, particularly, certain circles in the United States — may consider the possibility of a strategic withdrawal from parts of East Central Europe the function of which as a *cordon sanitaire* was rendered obsolete with the stationing of U.S. intermediate-range missiles, accompanied by the neutralization of Central Europe and the withdrawal of the United States from Western Europe north of the Pyrenees. Should the political-economic isolation of the United States from her allies increase as a result both of further "Reykjavik-style sell-outs" to the Soviets and of more rigid American tariff walls against the perception of an ever-more vicious competition exercised by Western Europe and Japan/Korea/Taiwan, etc. (the "Devil theory" of foreign policy familiar to students of American politics), this possibility would become a probability.

Note that the first steps toward removing both U.S. and Soviet intermediate-range missilves from "Europe" were taken in February/March 1987 against the resistance of West European governments which had incurred grave risks from their domestic nuclear opposition by stationing the rockets in the first place. Other steps will follow. Much depends on how the Reagan administration will weather the current "Iran-Contra" crisis (which a few wags have dubbed "Israel-Contra-America"), and whether subsequent administations will be able to avoid the type of media-hyped imbroglios which have lamed the past four or five presidencies. Slyly, First Secretary Gorbachev insures the USSR against a future American backlash by his every-more insistent courting, since the Geneva "summit," of world Jewry. The more American alienates herself from her "client states," and the more precarious her economic health becomes, the more productive will be Gorbachev's overtures.[7]

III. The Phenomenon of America

In opposition — though not necessarily in lasting hostility — to the Great Russian drive for self-fulfillment in the world arena stands the faith of the American in *his* mission to improve the universe. Both movements have their origins in historically deeply rooted motives, formerly religious. To some extent the two empires are rather similar. Apart from its favorable geopolitical location, however, great assets to the United States are: the regularity of its mechanism of leadership change; secondly, the solid cohesion of U.S. political culture, up to the present; and thirdly, arising from the former, the art of political mythologizing, which Americans have internalized to a well-nigh somnambulistic degree — an art essential for global propaganda.

All the same, a set of circumstances is foreseeable which casts shadows over the seemingly auspicious start of 1987. The prediction of strong economic growth (4 percent per annum for the rest of the decade) made by the White House seems doubtful. Negative factors are on the increase: an astronomical budget deficit; a disturbing imbalance of payments; the danger of proletarianization of large segments of the middle class by a process of enforced wage-and-benefits reductions of white-and-blue-collar workers (encouraged by the administration); the massive indebtedness of the great banks, and the farm sector and others. The volatile stock market promises to turn from bull to bear, if the fears voiced by economic pundits of such divergent schools as Galbraith and Greenspan come true. Military involvements in Central America or the Near East would strain the social fabric even more perilously. Already, the gloomy nightmare of outbreaks of violence and of race riots, a frequent experience in America's short history, looms again. In this empire, too, diversionary tactics in foreign policy are the stock of the political arsenal, though the lack of social discipline gives rise to the prospect of inadequate or overly hasty decisions. Still, it's an ill wind that blows no one any good; the restoration of the Saar region to Germany in 1954, a result that came about through the application of German pressure during and after the Korean War, reminds us that in times of tension the "Anglo-Saxons" may be amenable to real concessions, even to their allies, *if* these minor entities only exert their own will power — a point often made by Charles de Gaulle.

It is evident in any case that, for reasons of economic and political stability, the Reagan administration — or its successors — will implement an arms reduction to an unprecedented degree and will usher in relations with the Soviet Union which reflect U.S.-American self-interest exclusively. Global "understandings" with the USSR, considered the only adversary to be taken seriously, are at stake. Common interests such as the prevention of nuclear proliferation — Israel being the exception to the rule — had brought the two powers together on "non-proliferation" at the end of 1984. Then, prior to the meeting at Geneva, President Reagan addressed soothing words to First Secretary Gorbachev to the effect that "our two countries" should get together to cooperate and work for peace around the world. A near calamity followed these vague but ominous pronouncements when the "two most powerful men of the world" met again, at Reykjavik, in October, 1986. There the common Western and United States defense front against the Warsaw Pact nearly collapsed due to President Reagan's eagerness to denude Western Europe of its nuclear shield of intermediate-range missiles (IRBM's) — then being installed at considerable political cost to the NATO states of Europe — leaving these states to face on their own an overwhelming Eastern superiority in numbers and equipment. Reagan apparently also fell for Gorbachev's quick suggestion of a radical reduction, and the final elimination, of *all* ICBM's. He balked only when invited to scrap the Strategic Defense Initiative ("Star Wars"), just in the nick of time, one might add, for he and his adminstration had not troubled to consult either the so-called European Allies, their political and physical survival at stake, or the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff. Viewed in this light, the German parliamentary elections of January, 1987 represent merely a very slight reaction against the obvious powerlessness of the German Federal Republic. Of course, future events may deal a delayed, but a far more powerful, blow to the tottering regime.

Why the dissarray? Gorbachev — ably seconded by Dobrynin and Arbatov and others — handled the entire Administration's hunger for a sudden, global public relations coup with such skill and a near-perfect sense of timing — in which the bait of exchanging the American journalist Nicholas Daniloff, arrested in Moscow, for the so-called Soviet spy Gennadiy Zakharov, spiced with the added promise of the release of Soviet human-rights leader Yuri Orlov from a labor camp and from the Soviet Union, was used to hurry up American preparations — that, despite Reagan's previous warnings that there should be no hasty "summit," particularly not in the midst of a U.S. election campaign, his closest advisors either were shunted aside or suffused with euphoria. Typical of the Administration's hasty planning and unprofessional mentality are the effusions of a key aide entrusted with drafting the documents considered by Reagan and Gorbachev at Reykjavik: Richard N. Perle, then Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Policy. Questioned by the influential chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, Rep. Les Aspin (D.-Wis.), on November 21, 1986, Perle had this to say: "[The President] could have walked out of there with an agreement that millions would have cheered and won the Nobel prize."[8] Verily, Hollywood at its worst.

The imperious contempt for what are termed, tongue in cheek, "America's European allies" is clad in raiments of contradictory hue. The remarks of former Secretary of State, Dr. Kissinger, which caused distress in Brussels and Bonn, provide food for thought: namely, that in case the West Europeans continue to dawdle on rearmament — as seen from America — the United States would have to look for more satisfactory solutions.[9] Not that the United States would be content with the role of "Fortress America" for long. By no means. But seen from its geopolitical perspective America might for the time being settle for a *cordon sanitaire* which would extend from Greenland to Britain and the North Sea, encompass the Mediterranean, Africa and South Asia, and from there stretch to the Far East and the Pacific Ocean, which casts its ponderous shadow upon a half-hearted Europe. Such a philosophy, some of which harks back to well-work Republican patterns of foreign policy, and strongly smacks of the Anglophilia of Defense Secretary Casper Weinberger, is implied both in the new edition of the Monroe Doctrine, the "Reagan Doctrine," and in the acclerated expansion of the United States Navy. Small wonder that a recently launched super-carrier was named in honor of Theodore Roosevelt, the alert and over-active president whose charisma emanated an imperial force felt from Latin America to East Asia, Africa and Europe. The name of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Theodore's even more ambitious cousin and Stalin's most loyal ally, is frequently invoked by President Reagan, probably not just for reasons of campaign rhetoric. Should a Democrat enter the White House in 1988 no changes will be needed in this "pragmatic" combination of ideology and global strategy.

Surprising sympathy for the problems of Soviet leaders is occasionally expressed by high-ranking politicians generally not suspected of harboring Russophile emotions. On the eve of the 1984 elections, Defense Secretary Weinberger gave a dissertation on U.S. foreign and defense policies before the World Affairs Institute of the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee. Apparently, he felt constrained to bow to the trend of pacifism in the public opinion of his own camp — the United States and Europe — and rhetorically offered the palm of peace to the then Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko. On this occasion the corporate leader and friend of Big Business reiterated the weary thesis that since Russia's neighbors, such as the Tatars, the Poles, the Swedes, Napoleon and Hitler, had attacked her repeatedly the Russian nation is living in a constant psychosis of fear.[10] All is sweetness and light in the relations between the two World Powers: such is the conclusion that the pugnacious "Defense" Secretary allows us to draw for ourselves.

IV. America and Germany

During the presidential election campaign of 1972, on the other hand, Paul Warnke, a leader of the U.S. Defense Department under the Democrats and later director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency under President Carter, and head of the U.S. delegation to the SALT II negotiations, drew a much less complimentary picture of the Common Enemy. On October 5, 1972, during a debate on defense policy before an academic audience in Boston, Mr. Warnke — then an advocate of extensive U.S. arms limitations in Europe (an idea that has suddenly gained fresh favor) — shooed the cat out of the bag:

> Question by the moderator, Mr. Dukakis (governor of Massachusetts in 1987): "Does the prospect of Germany substantially rearming its forces trouble you at all?"
>
> Reply by Mr. Warnke: "It would, Mr. Dukakis, which is why I favor maintaining a substantial American presence in Europe. I regard 130,000 American troops as being a very substantial presence. And I see no necessity for the Europeans increasing their own force deployment under those circumstances."[11]

Not at all a personal gaffe; nor is this position a "leftist deviation" concerning Germany by the Democrats. Similar positions had been publicly expressed by Republican President Nixon prior to 1974. Notions such as these are *irrational, i.e.,* they have their origin in a pseudo-conflict with ideologically conjured-up entities. They manifest, *inter alia,* a bloodless, strategic victory of the Soviet Union and, in the final analysis, will mortally injure the vital interests of America herself, no matter what her politicians may believe at present.

During the sixties and seventies defamatory statements similar to those cited — indeed, often more offensive — were poured out by the bushel and accomplished the intended purpose of demoralizing the legitimate representatives of the Federal Republic of Germany. Simultaneously, they contributed to the strengthening of the leftist protest movements, of the radical adherents of disarmament, of the believers in violence and revolution, in West Germany and in western Europe. One might trace America's bipartisan resentment back to Chancellor Brandt's and special envoy Egon Bahr's intensively pursued *Ostpolitik:* an appeasement policy of the East which, according to Bahr's thinking decades ago, included the (very theoretical) possibility of the unification of Germany, accompanied by the neutralization of parts of Central Europe, possibly on the model of Austria. Such a rationalization after the fact ignores the official and unofficial American advice "encouraging" West Germany to enter into negotiations with Moscow and her satellites; it ignores also the rock-like "given" of American foreign policy which, following the low of the Cold War, after 1960 strove to reach global "understandings" with the Soviets. Remember that the very preconditions for the unsatisfactory state of *Ostpolitik* affairs were created by the United States which in 1945 abandoned globally important Central Europe without a struggle, from Wismar in the north to Magdeburg, Leipzig and Pilsen, and who by surrendering the crown cities of Berlin, Vienna and Prague to the Red Army also deserted the heart and mind of Europe. In the portentous years of 1953, 1955, 1956, 1961, 1968 and onward, America's active hands-off policy concerning affairs in the Soviet Occupation zone and East Central Europe was instrumental in bringing about the continued and unbearable oppression of Central Germany, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia and Romania. Today, four decades after Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam the spirit of those conferences under the chairmanship of United States presidents bears much of the blame for the *status quo transAlbiam.*[12]

As an aside, even as early as 1964, the political sociologist Amitai Etzioni alluded to the fact that, in a shrinking world in which the two powers with their nuclear arsenals are "facing each other down," their fears of diminished power will drive them to handle their client-states more roughly or will even deliver them up to the blackmail tactics of the great adversary in order to lasso them and rein them in more easily afterwards. With regard to Germany, the much feared statute on "enemy states" of the United Nations Charter provides a convenient handle for unlimited interpretation by the Powers.[13]

The worm has turned now. The cautious rise of a healthy sense of patriotism is being observed in the Federal Republic. It seems amazing that after decades in which German politics, and the politics for Germany, had been officially debased in every manner and to every degree imaginable, some West German politicians dare to set new sails in the freshening breeze. During the short campaign for the 1987 elections even the Social Democrats (the SPD), the party of former Chancellor Brandt, then the chief executor of the post-1969 SPD/FDP coalition *Ostpolitik,* saw fit not to ignore the new conditions totally. Note that its party manager *("Bundesgeschäftsführer")* Peter Glotz, during the 1986 SPD convention at Nuremberg, called upon the Germans to reactivate the idea of *"Mitteleuropa"* (Central Europe) publicized seventy years previously by the great National Liberal, Friedrich Naumann. So far so good. But will the renewed force of the idea succeed in welding together, effectively, its sympathizers east and west of the Iron Curtain?

Franz Josef Strauss, the old political warhorse from Bavaria, boss of its CSU, has also jumped on the slowly accelerating bandwagon. That was no surprise since he tried similar tactics, unsuccessfully, both before the Great Ice Age of 1969 and in his run for the federal chancellorship in the 1970's when Brandt's and Schmidt's governments began to unravel. Will he succeed now? His considerable talents include a penchant for opportunistic temporizing and good connections to Israel dating from his time as Defense Minister. Perhaps his turn *will* come.

Some time ago, on September 14, 1984, another spokesman, Dr. Rainer Barzel, then President of the German Bundestag, found words on patriotism which bear repeating:

> The German issue...remains, above all, a challenge. He who believes the solution to be simple is no realist; he who gives up, is no patriot.[14]

We add, inevitably: he who gives up is no realist but the gravedigger of Germany and of Europe.

Lo and behold: this time, the sentiments of Big Brother point in the right direction. Shortly upon his return from state visits to Hungary, Romania and Yugoslavia, none less than U.S. Vice President Bush declared, in 1983, that the Yalta conference did not have the division of Europe as its goal. On the contrary, the Vice President appealed to the nations of Central and Eastern Europe to throw off the alien yoke of Soviet rule, to form a united central Europe with their brother nations united in Western Civilization, and to find refuge in the arms of the Free World. Fine words, indeed — and they did find a responsive echo east and west of the

Iron Curtain. But the Vice President has yet to clarify exactly how those nations are to accomplish this revolution, after the blood revolts and uprisings from 1953 through 1983, profound events for which the United States stirred not a finger to help. Will the insecure euphoria of 1986/87, which already celebrates the dismantling of IRBM's in communist and capitalist Europe, succeed in re-uniting those great peoples, finally, for the first time since 1945, 1939, 1918? Great events do cast their shadows ahead but only great deeds will bring them about.

The noteworthy signal of the Vice President was seconded by U.S. Secretary of State Shultz repeatedly, particularly during the Stockholm conference on "confidence building, security and arms control in Europe," January 1985. The division of Germany and of Europe is an injustice perpetrated by the Soviet Union, Shultz declared. It must be redressed thoroughly.[15] We may doubt that, steeped in an atmosphere worsened by the near-fiasco of Reykjavik and finding himself immured in a political system which has had little use for Secretaries of State since 1916 at least, any future United States Secretary of State will waste more than a few soothing words on East Central Europe.

As for the Europeans, the shock of Reykjavik has brought West Germany, Britain and France together more effectively than any stirring declaration could have done. The governments of Thatcher, Mitterand and Kohl are starting to coordinate and unify their arms control policies — a singular turnabout particularly for Kohl and Thatcher who had been very closely attuned to Washington's wishes and whims. We wish them Godspeed faced, as they are, by the double jeopardy of an America seemingly bent on transforming economic troubles into a permanent, global, political-economic crisis *(à la* 1929 to 1941, thus lending substance to the questionable prophecies of Marxism-Leninism), and, on the other front, of a Soviet continental colossus suddenly turned more flexible in its methods and more dynamic in its ways.[16]

V. A New Counter-Reformation?

A pacesetter of quite a different caliber than the secular and secularly fickle politicians is the head of the Roman Catholic Church. John Paul II, son of his Polish nation, deeply rooted in the church, pursues far-reaching plans, the implementation of which might well influence the course of the future for centuries to come. An ever accelerating spiritual counter-revolution is to accomplish the cooperation, possibly even the amalgamation of Catholics, Orthodox Christians and Lutherans in Eastern Europe, roll back the tide of Russian Communism, and at the same time bring about the revitalization of Western Europe, which at present has been indulging in a morally degenerate, as well as politically sterile, alien addiction to vulgar materialism. The goal of the constantly repeated papal initiatives, which go beyond mere regeneration — *i.e.* the revitalization of the human judgmental capability of the individual — is also the renaissance of occidental culture, and, founded thereupon, the reconstruction and new formation of the political integrity of "classical Europe." After the glorious imperial and royal era of the *regnum et sacerdotum* of the Carolingians, the dynasties of Otto the Great and the Saliers, this integrity was lost to us.

Germany, situated in the heart of Europe and on the strategic turntable of the Old World, encompassing Eurasia and Africa, must of necessity be accorded a culturally, politically and territorially central role, if this grandiose world project is to succeed. Will her politicians develop the strength, vision and perserverance necessary to master this role? Will Germany be allowed to make genuine and significant decisions?

There are many arguments against this. Is so romantic an idea as the Pope's powerful enough to gain control of the workings of modern technology — *e.g.* the communications media — without being corrupted by it? Will it be possible for this idea to prevail in this culturally as well as politically torpid *post bellum* period after 1945 without triggering unforeseen chain reactions or catastrophic events?

The answer to these questions is that self-determination for the Occident must be reattained. Europe must be allowed to be the architect of its own destiny. The alternative will be an accelerated decline, ending in extinction.

Practical politicians may — quite apart from any religious considerations — mistrust the veiled objectives of the church. The day may come, however, when the two world powers will realize that their power is overextended and that for economic, domestic, as well as military reasons it would be to their advantage to welcome openly Europe — and East Asia — into the club of world powers. Once before, an American president (Nixon) decided in the name of his country to renounce the disastrous role of "world policeman" — seven decades after former President Theodore Roosevelt with his "Corollary" (supplement to the Monroe Doctrine) and foreign policy had boldly seized upon it.

At least three prerequisites are necessary to bring about a new balance of power: (1) Never again will the — desirable —

"l'Europe des Patries" (General de Gaulle) be in a position to afford the luxury of bloody internal wars. Most of all, the longer Germany sees herself hemmed in by the iron pincers of ambitious expansionists, the stronger her need for extra-European solutions will grow. (2) As an intuitive creator of public opinion the Pope recognizes that only an organic ideology, deeply rooted in the people, will be able to neutralize the claims advanced by the eschatologies of dialectical, as well as Manchester-Liberal, materialism, and be of benefit to all mankind, of benefit to Russia and to America as well. The question of whether this praiseworthy idea has not come three hundred years too late is moot; for it was from the Europe of the past *two* centuries that the most unfruitful ideologies have sprung — parasites on the vitality of the most brilliant edifices of civilized thought. It is imperative that this innermost alienation be overcome, and posthaste. (3) It is also imperative that, along with the vitally essential cultural, economic and ethnic-political apparatus, a common military-political morale be established if Europe is to survive. Practical politicans of the Third World such as General Mustapha Tlas, Defense Minister of the Republic of Syria, are looking forward to see the establishment of Europe as a third force, with a revitalized Germany as its core. Should this *realm of the middle* — facing the Powers — fail to recover its national health, Europe will be without the vital backbone of a common military defense system.

One can well understand the instinctive desire of those nations which are in the direct firing line of the most horrendous weapons of mass destruction and propaganda broadsides of all kinds from both fronts to "get out of history." However, it will not be granted to them to leave the roaring express train of modern times. Quite the opposite! In contrast to the situation of the Swedish nation in the course of the sometimes glorious and sometimes ignominious military campaigns of King Charles XII, Central and Western Europe constitute an essential piece of the world's prime real estate: a prize the lasting attainment of which will crown the one or the other side as ruler of the world. It is imperative that it be restored to trustworthy hands. The exertion of will, effort and power is well worth it:

> So girt by danger shall youth, manhood and age
> Pass kindly here their buys pilgrimage
> Such swarming multitudes I fain would see!
> Free people standing on a soil as free.*
>
> Johann Wolfgang Goethe, *Faust II*

*Und so verbringt, umrungen von Gefahr,
Hier Kindheit, Mann, und Greis sein tüchtig Jahr.
Solch ein Gewimmel möcht' ich sehen!
Auf freiem Grund mit freiem Volke stehn!

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Book Reviews

WARSCHAU UNTER DEUTSCHER HERRSCHAFT [WARSAW UNDER GERMAN RULE] by Friedrich Gollert. Warsaw: Berg Verlag GmbH., 1942, 302 pp.

Reviewed by R. Clarence Lang, Ph.D.

> On the occasion of the two years' existence of the General Government (GG), I was commissioned to render an account concerning the District of Warsaw. At that time (1941) I wrote *Zwei Jahre Wiederaufbau im Distrikt Warschau* (Two Years Rebuilding Work in the District of Warsaw). In weeks the 3000 copies were sold out, so numerous orders from Germany remained unfilled.
>
> This great interest in the GG prompted me to write a vastly expanded and greatly revised edition. [All translations are by the reviewer.]

These are the opening paragraphs of the foreword to *Warschau unter Deutscher Herrschaft* (Warsaw under German Rule) by the Governor of Warsaw, Dr. Ludwig Fischer, who commissioned Dr. Friederich Gollert to expand the 1941 edition with access to official records and documents.

> This new edition is to be a standard work about the German work of rebuilding the District of Warsaw and will document historically the accomplishment of German men and women sent to work here since the founding of the GG. It is to instill confidence in them that their work, which frequently has to be performed under the most stringent circumstances, and which by its very nature has found little recognition on the outside, will not remain unnoticed.
>
> Furthermore, this is to introduce readers to the East, with the manifold problems associated with this newly won soil.
>
> It is the duty of all politically-minded Germans to become acquainted with these problems, of which the GG is most characteristic. In it, the reshaping of the Eastern Areas is being pursued with great success in the midst of the greatest war in history.

English-speaking readers may recall that the Republic of Poland, established after World War I, was partitioned in the fall of 1939. The northwestern part, which already included numerous Germans, was incorporated in Germany. The eastern part, which included many non-Poles and Jews, became part of the Soviet Union. The central part was made semi-independent, became the General Government, and was divided into four districts: Warsaw, Radom, Lublin and Cracow. The capital and administrative center was Cracow. When the Russian Communists took over Bessarabia (Romania) and the Baltic States, ethnic Germans were permitted to leave and many were resettled in Poland.

Gollert gives the population of the GG as 17,607,500, with 11,300,000 Poles, 4,029,000 Ukrainians, 2,092,000 Jews, 90,000 Gorals, 75,000 ethnic Germans, 15,000 Ruthenians, 6,500 Russians and small groups of Georgians, Tatars and Armenians. Accordingly, the District of Warsaw had 2,800,000 Poles, 600,000 Jews and a small number of other groups.

Since Warsaw had a large Jewish population (according to *The New Concise Pictorial Encyclopedia,* Garden City Publishing Co., Inc., New York, 1938, the Jewish population of Warsaw was 309,000), naturally Gollert devotes 7 of his 302 pages to the Jewish District of Warsaw, with 12 pictures of the Jewish District.

Under the subtitle "The Necessity of Establishing the Jewish District," one is told that the Jewish District was surrounded by a wall in the summer of 1940 to protect both Jews and non-Jews from epidemics potentially emanating from it. This action then became the model for establishing Jewish districts in the rest of Poland. Or as Gollert put it, "So it happened that in 1940, earlier than in any other district of the GG, a Jewish District was established."

Since one is generally led to believe that this decision was racially motivated — the natural outgrowth of the National Socialist plan to exterminate all Jews — this raises the crucial question: Was the threat of epidemic real, or was it, as the exterminationists claim, only a German pretense to mask their alleged goals of exterminating non-German human beings?

In 1987, 47 years after the Ghetto was walled in, and 44 years after DDT (dichlorodiphenyltrichloroethane) powder eradicated epidemic typhus forever, it is difficult to realize that typhus was indeed the number-one killer in Eastern Europe. However, medical books and journals of the time leave no doubt that this was the case. To take just one example, *The Textbook of Bacteriology* (1945) by Edwin O. Jordan, under "Typhus Fever" and "European Typhus Fever," one reads that the disease is caused by the *Ricksettsia prowazeki* germ and is transmitted by the human body louse *Pediculus vestimenti.* This louse-born typhus persists in endemic foci in Russia and Poland, where it has occasionally broken out in major epidemics during periods of stress. Furthermore, and this approximated the conditions of the Jewish District, "The disease is associated with overcrowding and filth and has been termed 'camp' and 'jail fever.' Epidemics are not infrequent in both civil and military populations during time of war and may be extensive. It is estimated that 315,000 persons died of typhus in Serbia in 1915, and about 25,000,000 cases occured in Russia in 1917-21." The *Textbook* claims that the sole vector of the disease under natural conditions is the louse, and thus takes for granted that the only approach in battling the disease is by instituting rigorous delousing programs.

The pre-DDT danger of typhus found expression in such books as *A Five-Year Peace Plan* by Edward J. Byng, published in 1943. Byng took for granted that the United Nations would win, but that there would continue to be a grave typhus problem after the war. He thus insisted: "The occupation troops of the United Nations should immediately install 'de-lousing' stations in Poland, Croatia, Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece, and, in close cooperation with Russia, along the Finnish-German-Hungarian-Romanian-Russian border." This because the border would be crossed by homeward-bound Axis soldiers and civilians. The writer claimed that between 1914–20 more people died in Europe from that louse-borne scourge, spotted fever (or exanthematic typhus), than in the actual fighting.

There can be no doubt that typhus was a deadly reality before DDT.

The first large-scale, effective use of DDT delousing powder was in Naples in December 1943. According to *The American Year Book: A Record of Events and Progress for the Year 1944*, on page 23, "Demonstrations of DDT's efficacy against epidemic louse-borne typhus in Naples were dramatic and complete." Supposedly, typhus had broken out when Italian troops returned from the louse-infested Balkans. As many as 50,000 persons were deloused in one day, and by mid-March 1944, 2,250,000 had been treated with DDT. By the summer of 1944 the Allies had sufficient DDT to protect 50,000,000 troops in one month.

Two years after the war, *The Textbook of Bacteriology* (1947), by Thurman B. Rice, could triumphantly claim: "The American troops protected by vaccination and armed with DDT for the destruction of lice were able to go into Naples and Buchenwald (concentration camp) with impunity even when the epidemic was raging." The writer puts the story of the DDT gun "among the classic stories of epidemiological methods."

1943, however, was four years after the Germans quarantined the

Jewish District of Warsaw, and three years after the decision was made to build walls around the Jewish Ghetto. Thus, the Germans still had to follow the delousing procedures spoken of by Byng and illustrated in *The Cyclopedia of Medicine Surgery and Specialties* (1941) by George M. Piersol, Editor. On page 534 one finds:

> No specific therapy has yet been developed for typhus. Since endemic typhus is carried by rats and transmitted by rat fleas, the obvious means for prophylaxis is disinfection of the premises of rats or avoidance of the vicinity where they exist. Without lice (carried by rats or infested humans and clothing) epidemic typhus could not exist, therefore, all measures focus on methods of keeping louse-free or delousing. Carrying out these procedures on a large scale may be difficult during war and pestilence, but they should be rigidly enforced.

The *Textbook* states that elaborate baths and delousing stations may be erected, but simpler methods may be exposing clothing to disinfection by chemicals or heat or to burn the clothes while the individual is bathed and completely shaven. These have proven satisfactory.

Indeed the Germans learned how difficult it was to "carry out these procedures on a large scale." These methods needed the co-operation of men, women and children to be deloused. Some were hostile to the Germans, and even inspired and ordered by the Underground to sabotage. On the other hand, DDT powder could readily be blown, even unsuspectingly, down the neck or up the sleeves of fully dressed individuals. Within an hour or two the lice were dead, according to *The Science Yearbook of 1945*.

The German method meant herding people together, undressing, taking a bath, shaving, changing and washing of clothing. Clothing had to be kept apart and sorted out, and worn-out clothing destroyed in incinerators. Since heat was involved in the delousing and the incinerators using coal or gas were generally close to crematoria, the most hygienic way of disposing of the dead, this method became the target of a vicious anti-German radio and underground whispering campaign. It was easy for gullible people to believe and pass on the story that the Germans had extermination instead of delousing on their minds.

That the Jewish District presented formidable health problems can be learned from the description of the Ghetto (a term not used by Gollert in *Warschau unter Deutscher Herrschaft)* in the *Autobiography* of the American Rabbi Stephen Wise. He visited the Ghetto three years before the war and in 1949 wrote that he had seen "crowded, poverty-stricken ghettos in the large cities of other lands" but that nothing could compare with the Ghetto in Warsaw with its "poorest denizens," "subcellar homes and unimaginable darkest underground hovels." "Many were tenanted in their day and night occupancy; families were crowded together."

A similar description is to be found in *Europe behind the Iron Curtain,* in which the Protestant preacher Martha L. Moennich, on page 74, recalled:

> "I well remember my first visit to the Warsaw Ghetto in 1939 when I preached to many of these God's ancient people.... Their plight was already a sorrowful one at the time. These unemancipated people — wrapped in their ancient traditions, struggling to eke out an existence by means of a pushcart, crowded into one-room apartments with large families, with no privacy, comforts or common facilities to encourage decency — certainly touched my heart."

To these normal unsanitary conditions, Gollert had to factor in the havoc and disarray caused by the siege of Warsaw in September 1939. The city and much of the surrounding area, according to Gollert, had been heavily destroyed, with town, villages and farms burned to the ground. Thousands of refugees from Warsaw and other cities had been uprooted and roamed about aimlessly. Businesses were closed; markets deserted. Many falsely believed that the Germans had come only to plunder and destroy. There was panic and shock. Famine threatened, for farmers were not inclined to sell their products. Half of the crop was lost. The number of cattle, sheep, pigs and horses had been greatly reduced. There was a shortage of machinery, and Poles were reluctant to work with the Germans, even though streets, roads, railroads, telecommunications systems and sewage systems urgently needed repair. Murder and robberies were commonplace. Pure water was rare, as were suitable eating places. Former officials had fled, taking with them valuable records and documents and destroying the rest in order to sabotage the effectiveness of future German administrations.

The Germans met this head-on. Even before the fighting ceased, German soldiers began cleaning up. Military booty was collected; tens of thousands of prisoners of war were put into temporary camps; roads, streets, bridges and railroads were repaired. Although in the beginning there was little Polish cooperation, Gollert spoke positively of the Polish officials and people, who were responsible and prepared to cooperate effectively in the rebuilding.

In writing about the Jews, the writer reflected the thought-world and emotions of National Socialism. One is told that the Jews in pre-war Poland, as in Central and Western Europe, understood how to gain key decision-making posts in the cultural, the industrial, the commercial and financial areas. Nevertheless, Poland was different, since the majority of Jews were neither businessmen nor intellectuals, but workers and artisans. Thus the Germans, besides having to break up the overall national Jewish influence, had also to govern an exceptionally large Jewish population concentrated in compact areas.

Contrary to common conceptions, the Germans had no preconceived plan to deal with the Jewish District, except that, for hygienic reasons, the Jewish District was put off limits to German troops. But this did not solve the epidemic problem, so it was decided to quarantine certain areas. This did not envision "an actual moving of men, women and children." But the epidemic danger persisted as the Jews paid little attention to the quarantine, but went about unhindered. (It seems even the wearing of the Star of David did not help.) Enforcement was difficult, since "the back streets, yards and dwellings in the District were pictures of disarray, filth and dirt." The danger of spreading "typhus fever, stomach typhus (typhoid), diarrhea and other contagious diseases" to other areas continued, as Jews were found in the innner city. Thus in May 1940, the Germans, in consultation with Polish representatives, decided to wall in the District and, as much as possible, to put the Jews themselves in charge of the health of the District. At one time two districts were considered, but in the last analysis only one was established. This was a relatively easy operation, since the District had been quarantined already and the percentage of Jews living there was between 80% to 90%.

This action involved moving out about 700 ethnic Germans and 113,000 Poles, and moving in about 138,000 Jews. About 11,500 Aryan (non-Jewish) homes and dwellings were evacuated in the city, and about 13,000 Jewish homes in the eastern part of the Warsaw District were not included, but continued to live in Jewish enclaves, as in Siedlce and Sokolow. A relatively large number did not even live in any areas designated as Jewish. (Note: the word Aryan encompassed all non-Jewish ethnic groups in Poland, not just Germans.)

How separate was the Jewish District? One learns that there was a wall and a fence around it. Special permission was needed to enter and to leave. Administratively, the Jews continued to have their own 24-member council with a spokesman, comparable to the mayor of a city. The Germans appointed a German Commissar for the District who was directly under the German Governor of the GG in Cracow. This Commissar established a Central Transfer Office, which took care of the economic needs of the District.

Within this framework, the District was autonomous. It had its own Department of Health, its Office of Housing, its Office for the Registration of the Population, and its Office for Taxation and Finance. There were about 2000 Jewish orderlies (some are pictured in the book), which worked together with the Polish and German authorities. These orderlies were entrusted with the necessary authority to enforce the health rules and to provide the postal service. Gollert was quite explicit regarding the mail service, explaining that the German Mail East delivered the mail to the District, who handed it to the Jewish Postal Administration, who in turn gave their mail to the German Mail East. The Jews were in charge of the traffic and transit system.

Engaged in a life-and-death struggle, the Germans naturally implemented measures to utilize the workshops of the District for war contracts. These contracts were mutually agreed upon with representatives from the Jews. The necessities of life, as stated, were handled through the Central Transfer Office under the German Commissar, who, so it seems, allowed the Jewish authorities to distribute them as they saw fit.

Was this decision of May 1940 a wise one? Gollert defends it, arguing that with "great clarity" the wall was needed to prevent the outbreaks of epidemics in Warsaw and the surrounding areas. In doing so, the writer cited statistics showing that despite the closeness of the District to the rest of Warsaw (it was practically downtown) and despite some laxity in enforcing the separation, only 10% of all reported typhus cases occurred outside the Jewish District. Economically and militarily, it was also the best policy under the circumstances, since it utilized the Jewish workers for the war effort, while requiring a minimum of German supervision, thus partially alleviating the great German manpower shortage. (Jews were exempted from military service.)

Gollert claims that the organizational talent of the Jews did not match their intellectual abilities, so despite numerous officials, commissions, organizations and committees, the inhabitants seldom succeeded in a coordinated effort. Although Gollert spoke of Jewish self-centeredness and strong individualism, he also struck a positive note, in writing that "generally the actions of the representatives of the Jewish Districts were satisfactory."

Concluding the chapter on the Jewish District, Gollert wrote that the arrangement was self-evidently a temporary solution until a permanent solution to the Jewish problem could be found. Essentially, the German decision was Jewish, since Jews oppose intermarriages, and insist on their own built-in laws. The Germans also had to fear Polish inspired pogroms against the Jews. The wall prevented that as well.

Seven months later, in April 1943, the Jews, taking advantage of their autonomous situation, staged an uprising, which the Germans put down. This uprising should not be confused with the one in August 1944, when the London-based, Polish Government-in-exile staged another abortive uprising in Warsaw, so as to capture Warsaw for the so-called Western democracies, hoping thereby to guarantee the independence of postwar Poland. Promised help from the Russian forces, who were already in the eastern part of the city, just across the Vistula, did not materialize, as the Russians passively allowed the Germans to eliminate the Polish "Home Army" in this 65-day long battle.

When General Dwight D. Eisenhower visited the city after the war, he called it the most destroyed city of World War II. He failed to mention that by September 1942, when Gollert wrote his *Warsaw under German Rule,* Warsaw had been rebuilt under German supervision after the destruction of the Warsaw siege of September 1939.

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Reviewed by Arthur R. Butz

In late 1980 I was contacted by a Chicago TV station with a proposal that I appear to discuss a newly published book with its author, New York businessman Jack Eisner. Accordingly the station sent me a copy of the book, *The Survivor*, a vanity publication (though issued by a regular New York publisher), which ostensibly gives an account of Eisner's activities as an adolescent smuggler and black marketeer in the wartime Warsaw ghetto, his arrest and incarceration at the Majdanek concentration camp, his transfer to Flossenbürg, and his liberation at the end of the war. I read the book and was generally agreeable to appearing on the TV show, but that event never materialized. I have a hunch on the reasons why the appearance was proposed in the first place, which I shall get to.

The book turned out to be a more crudely constructed opus than I expected. Consider Eisner's account of his arrival at the "reception depot" for Majdanek:

> Suddenly, as though a fairy tale had come to life, a beautiful white horse and rider appeared in the distance. I couldn't believe my eyes as I watched the animal gallop closer and closer. In the saddle was a majestic, monocled figure in an SS general's uniform decorated with red velvet lapels, topped by a striped SS cap. A long white cape lined with red satin floated behind him. Several SS officers, using their whips and guns, cleared a path for the "emperor." Standing in the stirrups, he rode through the masses of "rubbish," assessing the scene.

The text then identifies the general as Odilo Globocnik, described as "Himmler's chief executioner in Southern Poland" (Globocnik was SS and Police Leader in the Lublin district).

In the book it is typical that SS officers appear on the scene wearing monocles, supplemented with white gloves and miscellaneous fancy vestments. For me this evoked images from some of the horrid movies I saw as a child during the war, in which German officers often wore monocles. Those Hollywood gimmicks were, in turn, throwbacks to the anti-militarist, anti-Prussian reaction in the Weimar Republic, in which a monocle was associated with Prussian militarists.

I wonder why Eisner adorned his text with monocles, but in any case they are ludicrous on several grounds. First, the monocle had become in Germany a symbol of a reactionary attitude and the Nazis and the SS represented themselves as revolutionaries; no SS officer would have been caught dead wearing a monocle. Second, Globocnik was no Prussian but an Austrian of Croatian ancestry. His wearing a monocle would have been preposterous on ethnic grounds — something like a Brooklyn Italian affecting a Southern colonel. Third, Globocnik didn't wear a monocle.

That Globocnik scene is typical of the book. Much more comparable fantasy is to be found there and the above quotation would have been much funnier if I had included a few more paragraphs. I had to stop somewhere. Caroline Latham, a freelance editor Eisner hired to help him with his book, commented that "A number of us who read the early manuscript felt that believability was one of its greatest problems... Jack had performed so many heroic deeds and had so many close brushes with death that he tended to stretch his credibility."[1]

After such admissions, what is left for the critic to say? I shall only add that the Globocnik scene is followed by some exterminations in gas chambers that "were long wooden structures with too many windows...sealed and taped," with a monocled SS doctor presiding. Wooden gas chambers with windows are features of the legend that we encounter now and then, but what seems particularly odd in Eisner's account is that this gassing scene is followed by an enigmatic reference to "the camp where the real gas chambers, the concrete ones, are." There is no elaboration or attempt to answer the questions begged. Of course both wood and concrete, on account of their ventilatory and absorptive properties, are unsuitable as walls for gas chambers.

The TV appearance did not materialize. After I read the book and communicated my agreeability to appear with Eisner as originally proposed, preferably live, the station representative said that there would be an additional guest to support Eisner. Sensing a move to take the focus off the book, I rejected such an arrangement. I now believe that there was never a serious intention to have Eisner confront me on TV. Eisner is unpopular in some Jewish circles and I suspect that the whole episode was put on only to teach Eisner that his book was a piece of junk that a Revisionist would have no trouble handling.

Eisner's next project was the funding of the "American-Jewish Commission on the Holocaust," to study the behavior of "American Jewry during the Holocaust." Eisner got former Supreme Court

Associate Justice Arthur J. Goldberg to chair the Commission, and Seymour M. Finger, Professor of Political Science at CUNY (City University of New York), to serve as research director. The Commission became publicly active in 1981.

Many Jewish leaders did not like Eisner's Commission; see e.g. the 1983 article by Lucy Dawidowicz, *Commentary* magazine's most reliable hatchet person.[2] Eisner's intellectual sloppiness was probably one of the reasons for this hostility. The major reason however must have been that the Commission's subject was, shall we say, delicate. Whatever the general U.S. Jewish population thought of the atrocity and extermination tales, the wartime Jewish leaders certainly did not take claims of "extermination" seriously; that is completely clear from Yehuda Bauer's *American Jewry and the Holocaust,* Detroit, 1981 (see also my remarks on this subject in the Winter 1982 *Journal of Historical Review,* or in Supplement B in recent printings of *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century).* The controversy over the Commission became so intense that early in 1983 it had even been declared dissolved, with Goldberg and Finger claiming that Eisner had welched on commitments of financial support, and Eisner claiming that Goldberg had bowed to pressure from Jewish groups.[3] However, the Commission was eventually reassembled, and its report was issued in 1984.[4]

Eisner had more vanity productions in the works. In 1985 he appeared as producer of a film entitled *War and Love,* an adaptation of his book *The Survivor.* To provide the background music (Mahler) he hired the Israel Philharmonic, no less, and his director was the respected Moshe Mizrahi, thus proving again that money can buy almost anything. Most of the film was shot in Budapest (resulting in a last minute litigation by Hungary over the rights), with a side trip to Auschwitz in Poland.

As should be expected the movie resembles the book, but the most ludicrous scenes are dropped. No monocled SS officers, and no Globocnik scene as above. The principal difference between book and film is that the portion devoted to concentration camp experiences was greatly reduced. Indeed Eisner does not arrive at Majdanek but at Auschwitz, and the action of the film does not tarry there long. There are no great gassing or extermination scenes. The generally moderated tone of the film, in relation to the book, is to be expected. It is far harder to get away with absurdities when they are dramatized in visual form than when they are claimed in print.

Nevertheless the more influential critics received the film with contempt. Vincent Canby of the *New York Times* described it as "shockingly inept," while David Edelstein of the *Village Voice* was more lucid: "Junk... How cheap."[5] I wonder how the critics would have reacted to a faithful adaptation of the book!

It is worth pausing over the film's failure to dramatize the mass gassings, which are, after all, the kernel of the whole legend. It is now 42 years since World War II ended, and for about 10 years we have been on the Great Binge of "Holocaust remembrance." The Great Binge is probably a reaction to Revisionism, but that is beside the present point. Commissions have been organized, conferences and symposia have been held, massively publicized TV spectacles have been shown, the most politically tainted of the Nobel Prizes has been given to a raving novelist, special investigating and prosecuting units have been formed in several countries to pursue aged alleged "Nazis," and a journal of scholarly format has been launched *(Holocaust and Genocide Studies,* Pergamon Press). I could go on.

We seem to have actually gotten accustomed to getting these half-century-old atrocity tales for breakfast, lunch and dinner, so it may seem paradoxical that to date the number of attempts to actually dramatize the mass gassings of the legend could probably be counted on the fingers of one hand. All such attempts have been in technically poor productions. For example, NBC's "Holocaust" series of 1978, though courteously plugged everywhere, was not well received by serious critics and was quickly forgotten.

As I wrote at the time, "the extermination legend entails dramatic impossibilities." That resistance to transport was rare, and that there were no riots by transports of Jews on arriving at camps, are very evident historical data. Thus the legend claims, as it must, that the Jews did not resist being gassed. The problem is that while a reader of a book might be persuaded to believe that, for a period of two or three years, at some place in Poland, thousands of Jews were delivered every day by railway trains and marched quietly and peacefully (for they are supposed to have thought they were getting showers) to their deaths in gas chambers, the belief would vanish if that reader saw a serious effort to depict such events on film. Surely some of the victims would had to have known, through general rumor, or through taunting by guards. But then one would have the situation of NBC's "Holocaust," in which some are presented as knowing, thus making the peaceful submission of the mass to death quite incredible, and even in that NBC production only the initial events, in only one instance of an imagined mass gassing, were depicted. Something like this was probably comprehended by Mizrahi, and he edited Eisner's vanity movie accordingly. As for the ridiculous title, perhaps it was Mizrahi's revenge.

At this writing Eisner seems to have no further projects of interest to us, although the "Jack Eisner Center for Holocaust Research" that he established at CUNY is listed in *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* as a "major research centre." His productions are not even bad history or bad autobiography, and it is understatement to designate them bad fiction. One may wonder why they are worth noting at all. I believe they are worth noting as a puzzling contemporary cultural phenomenon, specifically, that of normally inarticulate people from the world of business or finanace attempting to participate prominently in the Great Binge.

It is at least simplistic, and probably erroneous, to explain Eisner's activities in terms of pure financial motivation. Not only am I confident that Eisner lost a good deal of money on his stinkers, I also suspect that he never expected to make money on them, at least not in the sense of direct profit from the specific productions. If that seems implausible, consider the example of the super-crook Ivan F. Boesky, former member of the U.S. Holocaust Commission, and generous contributor to Jewish philanthropy. Associated with the American Ballet Theater, Boesky sought to "finance a production of a ballet on the Holocaust."[6] Fine arts performances are notoriously unprofitable, and could not exist without infusions from generous benefactors. Boesky could not have made any money on the ballet. The motivations for such enterprises are no doubt political, but certainly in Eisner's case the politics are not those of the Jewish community as a whole; Eisner's unpopularity there proves that.

My guess is that intra-Jewish politics underlie such projects, and that consequently they are impenetrable to me in fundamental respects. I will have to leave the subject there, as an unresolved and probably unresolvable puzzle. What is certain, however, is that there is a calculation, in the minds of people who have proved their considerable business acumen, that the decade-long Great Binge invites them, for specific reasons I can only guess at, to participate.

Notes

1. *Publishers Weekly*, September 12, 1980, p. 48.
2. *Commentary*, June 1983, p. 36.
3. *New York Times*, January 4, 1983, p. 1.
4. Seymour M. Finger, ed. *American Jewry during the Holocaust*, American Jewish Commission on the Holocaust, New York, 1984.
5. *New York Times*, September 13, 1985, p. C6. *Village Voice*, September 24, 1985, p. 64.
6. *New York Times*, November 21, 1986, business section. *Jewish Chronicle*, November 28, 1986, p. 3.

SELLING HITLER by Robert Harris. New York: Pantheon Books. First American edition, 1986, 402 pp., $18.95, ISBN 0-394-55336-5.

Reviewed by H. Keith Thompson

The quantities of Third-Reich-related forgeries in circulation can generally be divided into two categories. First, there are the forgeries made by the World War II Allies, and by various international pressure groups, for propaganda purposes, such as the masses of faked material introduced by the Allies at their various postwar "trials" of defeated Axis adherents, e.g., the Russian "evidence" concerning the Katyn Massacre. Most forgeries in the second category (documents, uniforms, medals, weapons and other memorabilia) are merely attempts to make money.

Selling Hitler tells the story of one of the most flagrant, crassly commercial attempts to cash in on the still intense memory of the Third Reich and its leaders. An important and highly entertaining work by a BBC television journalist, it deals not only with the controversy surrounding the forged purported "diaries" of Adolf Hitler, but also touches on the murky world of dealing in and collecting of so-called "Nazi memorabilia," much of which is currently being faked on a considerable scale in England, Germany and the U.S.

A special issue of the *IHR Newsletter*, No. 18, April 1983, dealt with the then breaking story of the Hitler "diaries," revealing the facts and the assertions as they then stood and very intelligently advising that, "Ordinary prudence, as well as academic skepticism, would dictate that no opinion be given until the evidence is fully examined by experts and specialists of impeccable credentials." It is a pity that historians of some stature, Establishment as well as Revisionist, did not heed that sage advice but instead jumped into the controversy, giving off-the-cuff opinions to please those sharks of the publishing world who were prepared to pay very well for such opinions when favorable to them. The "anything for a buck" mentality gripped the historians involved when they knew full well that only forensic scientists, with knowledge of papers, inks, glues, bindings and the interaction of time on those elements, were qualified to rule in the matter. It is far more difficult to launch a fraud among scientists, for their work is physical, finite, and can be double-checked by other qualified scientists.

Easily the most costly and most publicity-ridden fraud in modern times, 60 purported volumes of Hitler "diaries" brought — temporarily — over $2,000,000, only to be conclusively identified as forgeries within less than three weeks. *Selling Hitler* tells the whole story.

The chief villain in the affair was Gerd Heidemann, a reporter for the German publication, *Stern,* who worked with the forger himself, Konrad Kujau alias "Connie" Fischer, a dealer and middleman in Nazi memorabilia, some genuine and some fake. Aside from his work on the "diaries," Kujau also forged more than 300 drawings and paintings attributed to Hitler, many of which ended up reproduced as genuine in a beautiful multi-colored edition of *Adolf Hitler As Painter and Draftsman,* published by Texas millionaire Billy F. Price. Printed in German, it was banned in West Germany but, in 1984, appeared in the U.S. as *Adolf Hitler: The Unknown Artist.* Robert Harris relates,

> A large section of it was the work of Konrad Kujau, but it would have cost a fortune to rip out the fakes and reprint the book. The Kujaus therefore were left sprinkled amongst the Hitlers, and nobody, apparently, cared. "Even the suspect pictures," claimed a limp note of explanation in the book's introduction, "generally reflect Hitler's known style." That remark echoes that made by *Newsweek* about the Hitler diaries: "Genuine or not, it almost doesn't matter in the end."

Frankly, the Kujau Hitlers were not very good. Some of them might be said to reflect Hitler's style, but most of them did not. Hitler was a skilled but very conservative artist. He was not good at human figures, and he preferred to do landscapes. The market is glutted with forgeries and any prospective buyer of Hitler art had best be on guard, particularly since one of the "art experts" involved is ready to authenticate anything as a Hitler for an appropriate fee. The same is true of much other "Nazi memorabilia." A village in West Germany thrives on the cottage industry of reproducing Hitler silverware, knives, forks, spoons, dishes, etc. It is impossible to determine the age of an element like silver and all that is needed is a good set of engraving dies for the simple monogrammed design of the silver used in Hitler's various residences and many officers' messes. Another popular item is SS silverware, even simpler to reproduce, adorned as it is with merely the SS runes. And in Brooklyn, N.Y. a metalworking firm is busily making modern reproductions of copper busts and statuary. A special formula has even been developed to produce a convincing age patina.

The group of so-called handwriting experts and historians summoned — for large fees — by the management of *Stern* for the purpose of authenticating the Hitler diaries proved to be a pitiful lot. The first was Ordway Hilton of South Carolina, a name not widely known in the field of handwriting analysis. As author Harris writes, "Hilton's report, couched in five pages of professional gobbledygook, was conclusive. But, based as it was on the assumption that all the documents he had been given for comparison were authentic, it was also completely wrong...they were all forged by Kujau." The West German police were similarly tricked, as was another handwriting expert, one Frei-Sulzer of West Germany. Their "comparison examples" came from the Heidemann archive and were Kujau forgeries. But it provided sufficient "evidence" for the "*Stern* gang" to begin the international marketing of publication rights. Never before in publishing have such greed and double-dealing been witnessed. Bidding and counter-offers, the repudiation of agreements by the West Germans involved, and the aggressive attitude of Rupert Murdoch combined to skyrocket prices. The American editors of *Newsweek,* and the London *Sunday Times* typified the essentially mercenary role of the press. "Genuine or not, let's publish the diaries and make money." That became the order of the day.

Among the historians who had rejected the diaries from the outset were the West Germans Dr. Eberhard Jäckel and Dr. Werner Maser. The American historian Dr. Gerhard Weinberg, of the University of North Carolina, was on the wrong side. After a quick flight (between classes) to Germay, he found certain passages in the diary which coincided with his "own theories," and he endorsed the authenticity of the manuscripts.

The historian who causes the most trouble was Trevor-Roper (now Lord Dacre), an Englishman who had built a career on his opportunistic book, *The Last Days of Hitler,* but who was in fact a specialist in the 16th and 17th centuries. Harris notes:

> He was not a German scholar. He was not fluent in the language and had admitted as much in a review of *Mein Kampf* published a decade earlier: "I do not read German," he confessed, "with great ease or pleasure." Written in an archaic script, impenetrable to most Germans, the diaries might as well have been composed of Egyptian hieroglyphics for all the sense Trevor-Roper could make of them. He had to rely on the *Stern* men for translation. The conversation was entirely in English...

Trevor-Roper and Murdoch were not friends. Murdoch regarded him as a "typical English establishment waxwork... Harold Evans described the historian at board meetings of Times Newspapers, sitting with 'eyes screwed up behind pebble glasses…permanently sniffing the air for *non sequiturs*…' " For his part, Trevor-Roper considered Murdoch, "an awful cad." But Trevor-Roper did Murdoch's work and endorsed the Hitler forgeries, creating the biggest stir of all, only to begin within a few days to backtrack and try to wiggle out. What kind of "historians" are these? They had ventured into a field for which they possessed no qualifications.

The forged diaries were, remarkably, rather poor productions. The initials on the binders, taken by Germans to be "AH" but in fact "FH" (for *Führerhauptquartier),* were made of Hong Kong plastic, bought by Kujau in a department store. The "text" was in large measure copied directly from a 1962 work by Max Domarus, *Hitler's Speeches and Proclamations,* and Kujau meticulously copied the dated entries, even transcribing errors made by Domarus in dates and acts. Harris notes, "One such mistake was an entry by 'Hitler' recording that he had received a telegram from General Ritter von Epp congratulating him on the fiftieth anniversary of his joining the army; in reality, the telegram was *from* Hitler *to* von Epp. Kujau had copied the error word-for-word into the diary."

If there were any heroes in the whole sordid business, who were they? Above all, they were the circle of surviving old Nazis, particularly Hitler's adjutants, staff, and secretaries. Many of these people had literally lived with Hitler and knew his every movement. He was not a diarist. Heidemann made every effort to infiltrate this group of elderly "keepers of the flame." He tried to buy his way into their confidence for motives of his own, certainly not political but exclusively financial. SS General Wilhelm Mohnke, a Bunker survivor who led one of the escape groups after Hitler's death in 1945, notes that at a social occasion in his home, with two of Hitler's adjutants present, Heidemann announced that a set of Hitler's diaries had survived. "…the three old SS men were skeptical. ' That was thought by the people there to be impossible,' declared Mohnke." On another occasion, Mohnke informed Heidemann,

> Several things in these diaries were simply not true. First, the SS *Standarte* never had their barracks in Lichterfeld. I belonged to that troop and in March and April 1933 we were in the Friesenstraße… Secondly, at that time this troop of men did not have the name *Leibstandarte*. Thirdly, the entry for 18 March 1933 was false: Adolf Hitler never visited this troop in the Friesenstraße…

Another major hero was the *Bundesarchiv* and its forensic scientists. The paper was found to be a type that had not existed before 1955. The bindings contained viscose and polyester, not in use at the time alleged. "And by measuring the evaporation of chloride from the ink, the scientists established that the Hess volume had been written within the last two years, whilst the writing in the 1943 diary was less than twelve months old."

Still another hero was Kenneth Rendell, an autograph dealer and handwriting expert from Massachusetts. He was retained by *Newsweek* to evaluate the diaries. He used forensic methods and a valid system of analysis, quickly reaching the conclusion that the diaries were forgeries and not particularly good ones. He probably could have counted on a more generous honorarium had he endorsed the diaries. Another autograph dealer sought to interject himself into the controversy for publicity purposes, but ends up in *Selling Hitler* with an appropriately brief mention.

Robert Harris has written a definitive book on the Hitler diaries hoax. His research is detailed and impeccable. The style of writing, peppered with wit, holds the reader's attention. This is a book one cannot put down without reading to the last line. It is a valuable reference work and belongs in the library of Revisionists and others interested in the history of the Third Reich.

MAUS: A SURVIVOR'S TALE by Art Spiegelman. New York: Pantheon Books, 1986, 160 pp., $8.95

Reviewed by Janet Reilly

The publisher of *Maus* directs libraries to shelve the book under "Holocaust/Autobiography," and indeed, although it is a comic strip featuring white mice as Jews, pigs as Poles, cats as Nazis, and wartime Europe as a gigantic mousetrap, *Maus* is as restrained an exemplar of this garish genre as can be found nowadays. For several years the tale has been appearing as specially bound installments in the avant-garde art comic *Raw*, of which the artist-author Art Spiegelman is coeditor along with his wife Françoise Mouly. (A New York quarterly founded in 1980, *Raw* sports a different subtitle each quarter: "The Graphix Magazine — of Postponed Suicides," "for Damned Intellectuals," "that Lost its Faith in Nihilism," "for your Bomb Shelter's Coffee Table," "of Abstract Depressionism," and other equally jejune shock-schlock tags. Its folio-size pages, crawling with violent, absurdist, sick and stylish images, are a leading repository of Eurotrash chic, a fact which ticks off American comic artists who feel unfairly left out.)

Maus is actually less another "survivor's tale" than it is another cruel anatomy of the legendary Jewish Family. We have all met this *Wunderfamilie:* it is uniquely warm, supportive, close and nonviolent. Its parents never hit. Its mother may be "pushy," but only out of bottomless maternal desire to see her precious offspring flourish. Its father is wise, gentle, intellectually stimulating, and never alcoholic. Since the war, the more heavily propagandized countries such as the U.S. have imbibed this myth with their mother's milk; similarly acquired lore includes "The Nazis tied pregnant women's legs together when they went into labor," "The Nazis swung Jewish babies against brick walls and dashed out their brains," and of course that old Christmas favorite, the Anne Frank Story. It is a measure of how much more potent a well-told (and oft-repeated) fable is than mere empirical observation that not until we encounter Revisionism, which dares to call a thing by its proper name, are most of us able to retroactively "conform" the actualities of Jewish behavior we ourselves have witnessed to a rather sounder theoretical framework.

Until recently Jews have tried to present a united front of perfect harmony before the rest of the world and keep the weird little pathologies strictly to themselves. Increasingly, however, emboldened by the "untouchable" status they have extorted from American society (if not from other cultures), Jews have been treating these inherent tensions more and more blatantly. That Jews have in fact even less difficulty than most people despising their own kin is clear from the dozens of recent novels, plays, biographies, autobiographies, pop psychology tomes, and films in the *Where's Poppa?* mode (the father in *Death of a Salesman* had already gotten pretty hard to forgive, for that matter...). The best way to obsess someone is to reject him, and parental rejection would seem to be the dynamic underlying these ferociously unsparing dissections now masquerading as "American literature." It is also the dynamic, of course, that plays such a large role in ensuring the reproduction of the peculiarly Jewish character structure.

To get back to Spiegelman's adventure, son Artie hopes to understand through his father Vladek's life history why the old man behaves as he does. Perhaps "the camps" are to blame? Perhaps the "Mauschwitz" experience is the solution to the riddle of unloved, unlovely, unlovable parents? At first it seems so, but by the end it has come to seem not.

Most of the rave reviews *Maus* has received tiptoe uneasily round this central contradiction: that it is one thing to portray one's parent unsentimentally, the better to serve historical truth, but quite another thing to have no sentimentality to forego. None of the reviewers has mustered the feck to address *Maus* as an irruption of the Jewish repressed. They duly note its contents, from the opening quote — "The Jews are undoubtedly a race, but they are not human" (Adolf Hitler) — to the parting shot — Art muttering that *Vladek* is a "murderer" for having destroyed his dead first wife Anja's wartime diaries — but keep mum as to meaning. "A quiet triumph... impossible to achieve in any medium but comics." — *The Washington Post*. (Why?) "The tiny animal figures that move, dress, and speak like human beings become a metaphor for the Jewish experience." — Susan T. Goodman, Chief Curator, the Jewish Museum. (How so, Susan? You don't agree with Hitler, surely?) Spiegelman may well be getting flak from ADL public-image monitors or Mel Mermelstein-style hysterics of authenticity, but so far there's been no public censure.

In the event, Spiegelman's goal of rendering his father's story *exactly*, warts and all, to make it more truthful, more recognizably human than many of the wildly idealized self-canonizations occasioned by the "Holocaust," has the effect primarily of reinforcing and reconfirming the son's aversion and resentment. As Art confesses to his stepmother, Mala (p. 131), "I used to think the *war* made him that way..."

"Fah!" blurts Mala. "*I* went through the camps... *All* our friends went through the camps. *Nobody* is like him!"

"It's something that worries me about the book I'm doing about him...," Art goes on. "In some ways he's just like the racist caricature of the miserly old Jew."

"Hah! You can say *that* again!"

"I mean, I'm just trying to portray my father *accurately!*..."

And *Maus* offers no reason to doubt that Spiegelman has accomplished just that. Vladek's irritable, unremitting rejection of his son has driven the latter to become an artist in the first place: because "he thought it was impractical, just a waste of time... It was an area where I wouldn't have to compete with him" (p. 97). In a move which adumbrates a far more serious betrayal at the end, Vladek furtively throws Art's favorite jacket in the garbage, supposedly because it's too "shabby." Anja herself, possibly Vladek's prime victim, has earlier committed suicide by taking pills and slashing her wrists; only a fluke prevents Artie from being the one who finds her lying dead in a bloody bathtub. In a previous strip, "Prisoner on the Hell Planet," reproduced in *Maus*, Spiegelman described his reaction: "I remembered the last time I saw her… She came into my room… It was late at night… 'Artie — you — still — love — me — don't you?' I turned away, resentful of the way she tightened the umbilical cord… Well, Mom, if you're listening… *Congratulations!*… You've committed the perfect crime… You *murdered* me, Mommy, and you left me here to take the rap!!!" — fade out on the vista of an endless cellblock (ellipses in original). The betrayal prefigured by the jacket incident is Vladek's wanton burning of Anja's memoirs, which throughout *Maus* Art has been eagerly agitating to read at last. And so it goes.

The Elie Wiesel school asserts that the "Holocaust" is so immense that its essence can be approached and grasped only through the most extreme fictionalization, in other words, that nonsense alone touches upon truth (the corollary of Wiesel's unfortunately ignored dictum that "silence alone can speak of such things" as Auschwitz). Spiegelman, on the other hand, writes down all his father tells him, periodically demanding more precise chronologies, dates, concrete details, names, followup. Baldly, the tale is this:

Jewish mouse Vladek Spiegelman—no Mighty Mouse, nor even Mickey Mouse — is an ambitious young textile merchant in Poland who coldly dumps his penniless long-time girlfriend to marry the homely but clever daughter of a millionaire hosiery-factory owner, Anja Zylberberg. They have a son, Richiev, and Vladek is soon enriched by the match. Having been drafted into the Polish army some years before — unlike the rest of his family, whose time-honored practice it has been to pull out their teeth or starve themselves in order to be rejected — Vladek is called up for service in 1939 and finds himself on the frontier facing the German army. He does not shoot ("Why should I kill anyone?" p. 48), but ends up killing one German soldier almost by accident.

Shortly, the Germans (the cats, that is, and poorly-drawn cats they are, too, for all that cats are hard to draw) overrun the pig and mouse position, and all are taken prisoner. Eventually the prisoners are given the alternative of volunteering to work at "a big German company." Here Vladek's lot improves, although the mice are compelled to wield "shovels and picks…things what we never held in our hands before" (p.55). Those who cannot do the work are left to "freeze and starve"— or so Vladek assumes; he cannot really tell us what becomes of them.

One day the captive mice are processed out of camp and shipped by train back to Poland. In Lublin the Nazi authorities fritter away yet *another* opportunity to exterminate them by permitting their release to Jewish "relatives" (for a fee). Vladek makes his way back to the family in Sosnowiec. From this point on much of the tale revolves around the sufferings of rich mice forced to have recourse to the black market to maintain their standard of living. None of this suffering is unique to Jews, of course, but although *Maus* tends to obscure the universality of this fact of wartime, it also makes quite plain that hoarding, speculating, and black-market profiteering quickly became Jewish specialties; for example, Vladek describes half his relatives as *Kombinators* — connivers.

While the extended Spiegelman family enjoys escape after miraculous escape from Nazi attempts to control the currency and regulate economic activity (see, for instance, pp. 79 and 85), rumors are flying thick and fast, and the cats take their sweet time ghettoizing the mice. Four are hanged "for dealing goods without coupons," "to make an *example* of them!" (p. 83). In fact, these are the only authenticated executions in *Maus;* hearsay and assumption account for the rest ("This I didn't see with my own eyes…"). With one exception: Art's elder brother Richiev does not "come out from the war" with his supernaturally fortunate parents, for the simple reason that the aunt who is caring for him, in a moment of blind panic upon hearing that her town is to be evacuated to Auschwitz, poisons him, her own two children, and herself to death (p. 109).

Suffice it to say that the Final Solution was somewhat lacking in finality when it came to the Spiegelman clan — like so many others. Vladek even emerges from the war with valuables he now keeps in a Queens safe deposit box. One particularly schizophrenic image in *Maus* (p. 121) depicts the mice gaining access to a new "bunker" in the town of Srodula: the entrance, emanating from a shoe shop, is hidden by an enormous pile of shoes. One wonders if it was the same pile later photographed to represent "shoes taken from gas chamber victims"…

Steven Spielberg and crew seem to find the mouse an apt metaphor for Jewry, too. Their cartoon feature *An American Tail* is the heartwarming story of Mousekewitzes emigrating from Russia to the Golden Burrow of America — Ellis Islanders all the way. Released for the Christmas season — excuse me, in time for "the holidays," the new Jewish jargon being employed to knock the traditional spiritual punch out of the gentile festival — the film will probably clean up at the box office, if only because it will be one of the few entertainments fit for children to watch.

Art Spiegelman is now at work on the sequel to *Maus*, subtitled "From Mauschwitz to the Catskills." One supposes it will be of some clinical and even aesthetic interest to see how both elder Spiegelmans manage to evade the ceaseless efforts of the Nazi *Katzen* to trick them into taking that shower. Auschwitz Schmauschwitz — *Maus* is the subliminal confession, by a cartoonist whose art is perhaps more honest than its creator can bring himself to be, that the "Holocaust" never happened the way we learned in school.

WAR WITHOUT MERCY: RACE AND POWER IN THE PACIFIC WAR by John W. Dower. New York: Pantheon Books, 1986, xii, 399 pp., illustrated, $22.50, ISBN 0-394-50030-X.

Reviewed by Jack Wikoff

Following the surprise Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, the American people reacted violently with fear and anger at the suddenly ominous power of the Japanese nation. The forms this rage took in the portrayal of the enemy in political cartoons, propaganda films, popular songs, and psychological studies often presented the Japanese variously as apes, bats, octopuses, vermin, giants, rapists, midgets and children. Paralleling this we find that the Japanese, in their crusade to drive the Anglo-Americans from the Pacific, portrayed the enemy as demons, cannibalistic ogres, gangsters, Napoleonic megalomaniacs, and even dandruff.

The changing perceptions of the Allied and Japanese protagonists of the Pacific theatre of World War II are the subject of John W. Dower's superbly researched and documented book. Divided equally into discussions of the propaganda methods and perceptions of both sides, *War Without Mercy* also contains a section of illustrations with fourteen American and British and fifteen Japanese political cartoons.

It is Dower's central premise that racial fear and hatred were major factors that determined how both sides, Japanese and Anglo-American, perceived and dealt with the respective enemy, the "inferior other." Dower makes this clear in a telling passage of the introductory section:

> In this milieu of historical forgetfulness, selective reporting, centralized propaganda, and a truly savage war, atrocities and war crimes played a major role in the propagation of racial and cultural stereotypes. The stereotypes preceded the atrocities, however, and had an independent existence apart from any specific event. [p .73]

In the section entitled "The War in Western Eyes" the author surveys in great detail the development of stereotypical images of the Japanese, especially in American sources. The Japanese were often represented in a depersonalized manner as the "Jap hordes" although the wartime population of Japan was only 73 million. Behind such a characterization was the nightmare fantasy of the "Yellow Peril" fostered in part by the "Fu Manchu" novels of Sax Rohmer. Real or not, the fear that the billion-strong masses of the Orient would pour into Australia, New Zealand and the western United States was foremost in Anglo-American minds. The Japanese propagandists themselves made use of this in a leaflet which depicted a teeter-totter with figures representing seven Asian nations weighing down one end while Roosevelt and Churchill are seen flying off the other end. The caption reads "Greater East Asian War: One Billion Asians against Anglo-Americans" (illustrated on p. 248 of *Propaganda: The Art of Persuasion: World War II*, by Anthony Rhodes, NY: Chelsea House, 1976).

Prior to Pearl Harbor and the extraordinary military successes of Japan in 1942, notably the seizure of Singapore from the complacent British, the Anglo-Americans had failed to take the Japanese seriously. They rated the Japanese as poor and unintelligent fighters, incapable of flying advanced aircraft, unable to build quality battleships, and incapable of the invention of new weapons or methods of battle. In the months following the outbreak of war, the Allies swung to the opposite view, exaggerating the fanaticism, willingness to die, and mysterious, "occult," Oriental qualities of the Japanese soldier. This shift can be seen through the large number of portrayals of Japanese as apes. In a January 1942 issue of *Punch*, monkeys with helmets and machine guns are drawn swinging through vines, underlined with a quotation from Kipling's *Jungle Book (War Without Mercy*, p. 183). By 1943 the Japanese were increasingly represented in cartoons as gigantic, savage gorillas (pp. 184, 187). Six months after the April 18, 1942 Doolittle-led B-25 raid on Tokyo, three captured airmen were tried and executed. The American people reacted in a paroxysm of anger and one especially graphic and now famous cartoon depicted an apelike subhuman labeled "Tojo" crouching with blood-dripping mouth and hands over a body labeled "Murdered American Airmen" (illustration on p. 45 of *Faces of the Enemy: Reflection of the Hostile Imagination*, by Sam Keen. San Francisco: Harper & Row, Pub., 1986.)

Yet another extraordinary representation of the enemy as an animal may be found on the December 12, 1942 cover of *Colliers*, painted by Arthur Szyk, which depicts a Japanese officer as a huge bat with fangs and pointed ears carrying a bomb inscribed with skull and crossbones. This creature wears a plumed cap and full dress uniform with swastika-emblazoned epaulets. The swastikas no doubt were meant to reveal that the "Japs" were able students of the "Nazis."

The author of *War Without Mercy* devotes one chapter, "Primitives, Children, Madmen," to both popular and high-brow psychiatric analyses of the Japanese character. A study by Geoffrey Gorer, the English social anthropologist, entitled "Themes in Japanese Culture" was recapitulated in *Time* magazine under the title "Why are Japs Japs?" Other articles in American publications were given such titles as "Jap Cruelty Traced to Childhood," "Jap Bullies," and "How to Tell Japs from Chinese."

Popular American songs proclaimed "There'll Be No Adolf Hitler nor Yellow Japs to Fear," "Until That Rising Sun Is Down," and "We're Gonna Have to Slap the Dirty Little Jap."

Part III of *War Without Mercy* is titled "The War in Japanese Eyes" and begins:

> During the war, the Japanese routinely referred to themselves as the leading race (shido minzoku) of the world. Like their American and Commonwealth adversaries, they called on a variety of metaphors, images, code phrases, and concepts to affirm their superiority — ranging from expressions that demeaned non-Japanese to elaborate affirmations of their own unique qualities. [p. 203]

Dower analyzes in great detail the Japanese view of themselves as a race and nation, more homogeneous, pure, and separate than others. That the "Rising Sun" was used as a symbol of a purifying force can be seen from a cartoon, reproduced in *War Without Mercy*, from the January 1942 issue of the Japanese periodical *Manga*. As described by Dower:

> The purifying sun of Japanese glory dispels the "ABCD" powers. America and Britain are thugs (the crown of Jewish — "J" — plutocracy is falling from America's head). China is a sprawling figure with Chiang Kai-shek's face — and a stubby tail, a bestial mark often atttached to the Nationalist Chinese. All that remains of the Dutch is a wooden shoe. (p. 192)

The alliance with Germany and Italy made a propaganda campaign of overt anti-white racism somewhat impractical. Furthermore, Japan's history of rapid and often enthusiastic Westernization while resisting colonialization by western powers largely precluded such a propaganda approach. Nevertheless, the Japanese were not above making comparisons of the Japanese and European races.

> An argument was offered in another popular book on racial issues that was also published in Tokyo in 1944. Readers of *A History of Changing Theories about the Japanese* by Kiyono Kenji were again reminded of... physical features which on the contrary placed the Europeans closer to the monkeys and other animals than the Japanese; Kiyono offered this... list: "high" noses, hairiness, relatively long arms, lower brain-to-body-weight ratio, thick fingers, and strong body odor of the sort associated with the generative function in certain animals. (p. 219)

Although the Japanese leaders proclaimed a desire for the attainment of a Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere uniting the nations of the region, it was clear that Tokyo was to be the dominant economic and military center. A disparaging view of other Asians is seen in the portrayals of them as darker-skinned "natives," "half-naked and implicitly half-civilized."

The most common device used to portray Europeans in Japanese cartoons of the era is that of the demon. Thus we see the American president and British prime minister drawn with horns and claws. Another cartoon from *Manga* depicts a head of rice bristling with bayonet blades reminiscent of samurai swords, impaling three American flyers falling from a burning bomber. The flyers are drawn with long pointed noses, skinny bodies, and tails.

The Japanese people were urged by their leaders to work for the good of the group; the nation was more important than the selfish desires of the individual, a theme illustrated by a cartoon of a Japanese woman purging her head of "Anglo-Americanism," the dandruff "being combed out is identified as extravagance, selfishness, hedonism, liberalism, materialism, money worship, individualism, and Anglo-American ideas" (p. 191).

In 1981 the discovery of a volume of war-time documents in a used-book store in Tokyo led to the unearthing of the full six-volume, 3,127-page report, completed July 1, 1943, entitled *An Investigation of Global Policy with the Yamato* [Japanese] *Race As Nucleus,* in the archives of the Japanese Ministry of Health and Welfare. This unusual and valuable document is the subject of one excellent chapter. Dower elucidates the Japanese equivalent of "blood and soil" and hierarchic patterns of thinking, but only lightly touches on the similarities between National Socialist and Japanese racial, economic, and political theories.

One of the few failings of *War Without Mercy* concerns the author's occasional superficial remarks about Japan's National Socialist ally. Dower is properly sceptical of the flood of atrocity stories which attributed nearly every conceivable brutality to the

Japanese, but accepts uncritically all the cliches and myths about alleged German atrocities that were the staples of Allied propaganda. Particularly telling is the following paragraph:

> Apart from the genocide of the Jews, racism remains one of the great neglected subjects of World War Two. We can gain an impression of its importance, however, by asking a simple question: when and where did race play a significant role in the war? The query may seem to border on the simplistic, but it turns out to have no simple answer — not even for the Holocaust. As has become more widely acknowledged in recent years, the destruction of European Jewry itself was neither an isolated event nor a peculiarly Nazi atrocity. The German extermination campaign was not limited to Jews but extended to other "undesirable" peoples as well. At the same time, there occurred a "hidden Holocaust" — that is, a conveniently forgotten one — in which the annihilation of the Jews was actively supported by French and Dutch citizens, Poles, Hungarians, Romanians, Slovaks, Ukrainians, Lithuanians, and Latvians. It is now also well documented that anti-Semitism in the United States and Great Britain prevented both countries from doing as much as they could have to publicize these genocidal policies or to mount a serious rescue campaign. (p. 4)

Dower acknowledges that the fighting in the Pacific was especially brutal with each side frequently killing captured enemy soldiers rather than taking prisoners, and that the collecting of body parts of enemy dead for mementos was commonplace. He also discusses the cruel Japanese treatment of whites and Asians in concentration camps and the United States' internment of 110,000 Japanese/American citizens.

We are told in a footnote (page 357) that the above-mentioned *An Investigation of Global Policy with the Yamato Race As Nucleus* contains several hundred pages on Nazi racial policies and "the Jewish problem." Yet, other than providing two illustrations (pages 192 and 194) of Japanese cartoons which include anti-Jewish caricatures, Dower does not touch on the Japanese attitude to the Jews. A discussion of Japanese anti-Jewish and pro-Muslim policies and a more even-handed comparison of the brutal Pacific battles and those of the Eastern Front would have been welcome.

Also, a somewhat larger sampling of political cartoons would have been helpful to convey the wide variety of images and metaphors used in propaganda of the era.

Overall, *War Without Mercy* is a thoroughly documented work and breaks much ground in the study of the propaganda of the war in the Pacific. It is to be hoped that in the future many of the World

War II Japanese writings about the West cited by Dower will be available in English translation. This can only assist in building greater understanding between East and West and may help to prevent future conflicts.

PROPHECY AND POLITICS: MILITANT EVANGELISTS ON THE ROAD TO NUCLEAR WAR by Grace Halsell. Lawrence Hill & Company, 1986, 210 pages, $14.95, Hb., ISBN 0-88208-210-8.

Reviewed by Edward Johnson

> In the coming maelstrom that lies ahead, in the coming judgement that's going to burst in cyclonic fury over this world, and this planet, America's only hope — listen to me, White House, listen to me, State Department, listen to me, Pentagon, listen to me, Mr. President — America's only hope is not GNP, it's not scientific achievement, it's not an education at Harvard or Yale, but it's America holding on to that little, tiny state of Israel and saying, "We will stand with you," because God said, "They that bless Israel I will bless, and they that curse Israel, I will curse."
>
> — Rev. Jimmy Lee Swaggart
> March, 1985 TV homily.

Elite intellectual opinion in the West continues to regard the electronic sermons of Rev. Swaggart and other fleecers of the telecitizenry (Falwell, Bakker, Robertson, etc.) as morally outrageous and politically idiotic. Interestingly, the intelligentsia have continued to connect the phenomenon of TV evangelism and its Scofield Dispensationalist dogma with the extreme right-wing and anti-Semitism. The unspoken assumption is that anything as stupid as a Jimmy Lee Swaggart sermon must be anti-Jewish.

The intelligentsia traffic in stereotypes which reinforce the liberal-Marxist view that history is essentially progressive and Zionism synonymous with progress; thus opposition to these hallowed forces arises from the camp of ignorant reaction, always atavistic and anti-Jewish.

Grace Halsell, whose liberal credentials as a former "Black like me" Southern civil rights worker (she once dyed her skin to experience the tribulations of minorities) are unassailable, has written a troubling book which neatly undercuts this stereotype. Contrary to the coverup, the most powerful movement of jingoists and "nuke 'em 'till they glow" fanatics is in Israel's camp.

The source of their zealotry lies in the *Scofield Reference Bible*, a heavily annotated King James Bible whose marginalia, penned by the 19th-century hermeneuticist C.I. Scofield, is often given the weight of Scripture itself by enthusiasts. His disciples' view of the modern era (or dispensation) is apocalyptic: Armageddon is inevitable, Jews are God's *Herrenvolk,* Mesech (Moscow) and Gomer (Europe) are the enemy, and righteous Christians will be "raptured" off the planet before the final, radioactive curtain.

True believers in Scofield Dispensationalism regard the nuclear annihilation of the world as imminent. Thus all attempts at making peace with one's foes, or even balancing Reagan's leviathan-sized national budget, are futile.

As a result of their pious vision of Zionists as God's chosen realtors in the Middle East, the TV preachers have received a kind of *de facto* license to remain on the airwaves and promote a traditional, conservative, Christian social agenda. Hence the rift among Zionism's powers that be: such Jewish leaders as Norman Lear feel that influential Jews should quickly pull the plug on Swaggart and Company because of their anti-abortionist, homophobic, anti-feminist, media-bashing platforms.

Other powerful Jews, for instance the neo-conservative Norman Podhoretz, feel that the preachers' social prescriptions must be tolerated for the sake of preserving their high profile philo-Zionism. New York intellectual Irving Kristol has tallied up this balance sheet with considerable acuity. Halsell writes:

> If one had informed American Jews 15 years ago that there was to be a powerful revival of Protestant fundamentalism as a political as well as a religious force, they would surely have been alarmed, since they would have assumed that any such revival might tend to be anti-Semitic and anti-Israel. But the Moral Majority is neither... Kristol urges Jews to ask themselves the question: How significant would it be for American Jews if the Moral Majority were anti-Israel? "The answer is easy and inescapable: it would be of major significance. Indeed, it would generally be regarded by Jews as a very alarming matter."
>
> True, Kristol writes, the Moral Majority is committed to a set of social issues — school prayer, anti-abortion, the relation of church and state in general — that tend to evoke a hostile reaction among most (though not all) American Jews. To balance the pros and cons of the matter, Kristol says that "the social issues of the Moral Majority are meeting with practically no success, whereas anti-Israel sentiment has been distinctly on the rise, and the support of the Moral Majority could, in the near future, turn out to be decisive for the very existence of the Jewish state. This is the way that the Israeli government has struck its own balance vis-à-vis the Moral Majority, and it is hard to see why American Jews should come up with a different bottom line." (pp. 155-156)

In other words, for the government of Israel and its dual-loyalist followers in the United States, the "bottom line" is that no matter how many pro-Zionist TV preachers have visions of a 900-foot Lassie instructing them to build a multi-million dollar crystal dog house, or engage in any of the other buck-hustling buffoonery Twain, Mencken and Bierce satirized with their devastating barbs, the fundamentalists will remain on the airwaves. That all-encompassing ecclesiastical fiat, "If it's good for Israel, it's good," applies as effectively to Christian fundamentalists as it does to grossly inflated American military budgets, senatorial candidates or any other facet of contemporary realpolitik.

Halsell's book moves quickly and reads easily because it combines scholarship with the author's anecdotes about her experiences as a member of a Jerry Falwell-sponsored tour of Israel. On her tour bus she conversed with mostly successful American businessmen and entrepreneurs like Marvin, who told her, "Every war the Jewish soldiers fight is a battle directed by God himself."

> Marvin liked the biblical texts that quoted a God opting for extreme violence as divine policy. He once quoted to me Psalm 110 that speaks of Yahweh crushing the heads and filling the earth with the corpses of non-believers, and Psalm 137 that expresses the wish for vengeance by taking little Babylonian children and dashing them against the rocks. (p. 168)

Another Falwellite was Brad, a financial manager who resembled the "quintessential southern male." Brad told Halsell, "I just wish I had been born a Jew!," explaining that "when God made the universe, He gave His special blessing to the Jews." As a result, "Jews were 'different and better' than non-Jews."

Jews are in fact so far superior to their Christian admirers that the temples, battle sites, and ceremonies of Judaism and state Zionism are apparently the only attractions of interest to the folks on the Falwell tour. Halsell was astounded to discover that no one on her bus evinced the least interest in visiting Nazareth, the home of what's His name, but went wild in anticipation of a meeting with an Israeli general. Ironically, the Falwell tour did make a stop in Jesus's home town after all, when their bus driver decided it would be a convenient place for the Christian Zionists to use the restroom facilities.

Halsell hints that the Christian Zionists have a believer in the White House and that the President is not pursuing peace because:

> "There'll be no peace until Jesus comes. Any preaching of peace prior to this return is heresy; it's against the word of God; it's Anti-Christ," says TV evangelist Jim Robison, who was invited by President Reagan to deliver the opening prayer at the 1984 Republican National Convention. (p. 16)

Politician and president-maker Jerry Falwell, a close confidant of Reagan, is the only non-Jew ever to have received the coveted Jabotinsky medal for services rendered to the state of Israel. The prize, named in honor of the arch-terrorist Vladimir Jabotinsky, was personally bestowed upon Rev. Falwell by Jabotinsky's most ardent disciple, Menachem Begin, at a gala 1980 dinner in New York.

According to Halsell, the view of the fundamentalists surrounding Reagan, as well as 1980 Presidential candidates Bush and Kemp, is that,

> ...one need not work to eliminate pollution in our cities, or starvation... One need not concern oneself with nuclear proliferation. One need not attempt to prevent an Arab-Israeli war. Rather — pray for it to explode and engulf the world, since this is part of the divine scheme. (p. 39)

At a 1971 dinner, Reagan told California legislator James Mills that "everything is in place for the battle of Armageddon and the Second Coming of Christ." The President has permitted Jerry Falwell to attend National Security Council briefings and author and Armageddon-advocate Hal Lindsey to give a talk on nuclear war with Russia to top Pentagon strategists.

If Mills, Halsell and other observers of the presidency are correct, Reagan's personal belief in the Dispensationalist scenario explains the mystery of the seeming fatalism of so many of his military, domestic and monetary policies. According to Mills, Reagan's attitude can be summed up as, "There's no reason to get wrought up about the national debt, if God is soon going to foreclose on the whole world."

Leading an electronic propaganda drive with some 60 million estimated adherents, an enthusiast in the White House, upcoming Republican presidential candidates influenced by, and in debt to, fundamentalism (and one candidate, Marion G. "Pat" Robertson, who sees himself as "an anointed prophet of God" and confirmed advocate of Israel and Armageddon), one would think some sort of alarm would be sweeping America.

One would expect that the "no nukes" ecology movement and the anti-racism groups, as well as anyone who gives a fig for the future of his children would, by now, have launched a sustained campaign to oppose the fundamentalists on the specific grounds of their seeking after nuclear war in the Middle East. Yet no such movement has come forth. Mesmerized by "Holocaust" propaganda centered on World War II, millions of Americans are oblivious to the hoped-for atomic holocaust openly advocated by Christian Zionists who claim to have God on their side and who utilize the vast persuasion-power of television.

This recipe for World War III, the cowing of the collective conscience of Americans who know better, the resultant mass apathy, the vacant stares and smirking grins of clergymen who lead constituencies which regard their leaders as infallible mystics, has a final, perverse twist to its core-belief.

In the theology of the cult of Scofield Dispensationalism, the horrors these "Christians" actually pray for at 24-hour vigil sites in the nation's capital, attended by government officials and lawmakers, will not be shared by them or their children. Instead, a form of Star Trek-like "dematerialization" will occur. This event, called the "rapture," will waft Christian airline pilots out of their cockpits (leaving a planeload of the unsaved to tailspin to fiery destruction), Christian surgeons out of their operating rooms (while patients bleed to death), and tens of thousands of others directly to heaven, where they will observe from a cozy celestial cloud the flaming cinder of planet Earth.

This bizarre belief in a *deus-ex-machina* rescue from an atomic holocaust to be provoked by their blind support of state Zionism is most dramatically evoked by Jimmy Lee Swaggart, a spellbinding orator who has used television to showcase his speaking ability to maximum effect:

> I'm not lookin' for a hole in the ground. I'm lookin' for a hole in the sky. I'm not lookin' for the undertaker, I'm lookin' for the Up Taker. I'm not lookin' for some missile. I'm lookin' for the coming king — Jesus Christ — to gather us and take us away! Rapture! Rapture! Rapture!... After the Rapture, the world will be plunged into tribulation. It will be a time so horrible and hideous that words cannot describe it. Jesus called it "Great Tribulation" such as the world has never seen before...a time of such agony, a time of such horrifying hell that will burst in cataclysmic destruction... And for the first time, in the Day of Grace, He (God) pulls off the gloves. He is going to pour out destruction onto this planet, upon evil and upon sin and upon wickedness and upon evil-doers such as minds cannot imagine, contemplate or comprehend...it will affect the whole world... (From a transcript of a Swaggart sermon of March 3, 1985.)

Rev. Swaggart's words would be no more than a colorful bit of gothic, Southern Americana were he delivering them in a dimly lit tent on a steamy August night in some backwater hamlet. But Swaggart's "tent" was a midwestern auditorium holding 20,000 people in a major metropolitan area. Moreover, he was nationally televised to an audience in the millions.

When Swaggart poured forth his searing nihilistic hatred for all life on earth he was not laughed out of town, booed, or tarred and feathered. He was cheered wildly, with the frenzied abandon and uplifted arms not seen since the fabled days of Hitlerian Germany.

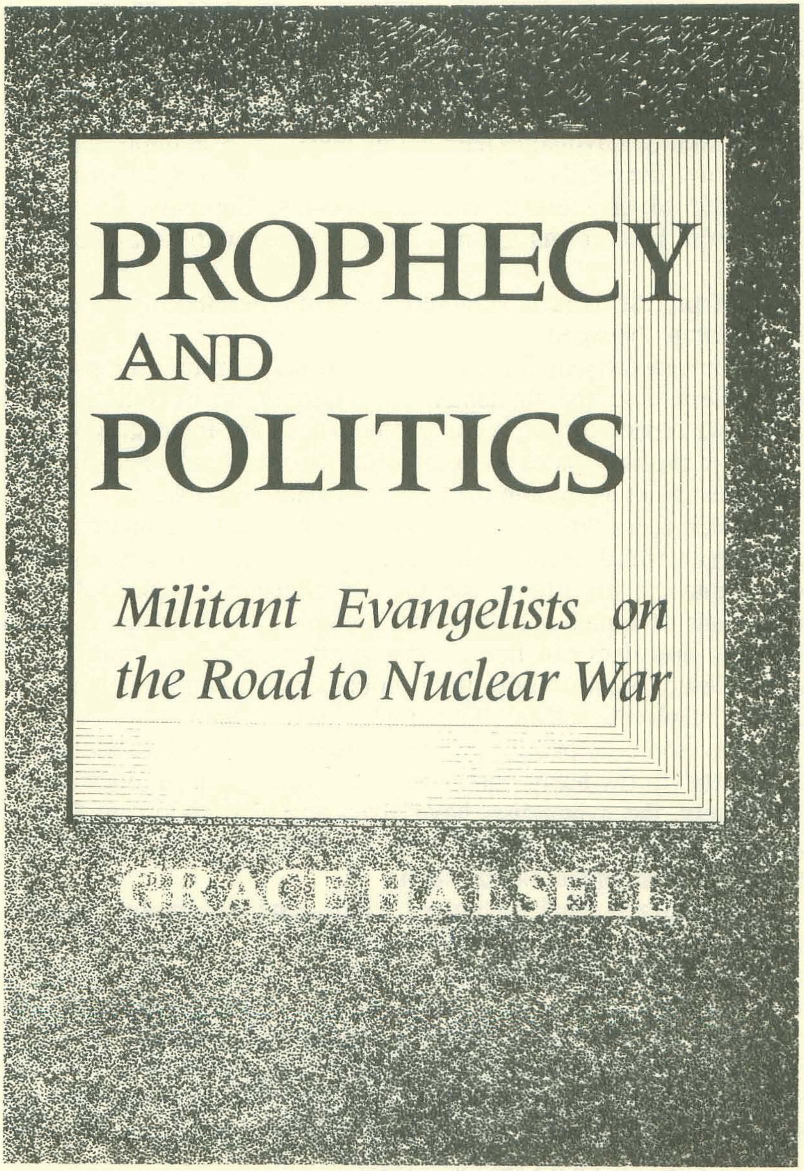
Odd, is it not, that amid the oceans of newsprint and months of broadcast time devoted to hammering home, with an unprecedented monotony, the perils of a fanatical demagogue and an irrational following which arose in National Socialist Germany, Swaggart, Robertson, Bakker and the rest proceed apace with little notice or protest?

What protest there is scrupulously skirts the taboo issue of the relationship between the likelihood of nuclear war and the preacher's idolatry of war-Zionism, delicately limiting the protests to concern over the fundamentalist's promotion of anti-abortion laws and censorship of pornography. These are interesting topics but their urgency pales in comparison to the atomic hell-fire the fundamentalists are promoting by every means available.

Perhaps these "men of God" are correct. Maybe America does have some weird death wish, having grown world-weary and full of resentment for life in the process Nietzsche accused Judeo-Christians of fomenting. If a thanatos cult as virulent as Scofield Dispensationalism can find allegiance among so many millions of our fellow citizens, while other millions idle away their hours in apathy, maybe the self-fulfilling prophecies are coming true.

Surely some culpability descends upon all of us for helping to create the throw-away fundamentalist world Halsell documents. Ultimately, the evangelists have given any who choose to follow them a license to escalate the industrial pollution and nuclear arms buildup threatening all life on earth.

In this current manifestation of a long-festering disease we have an eschatology of the extreme taken to its farthest and most unnatural conclusion. This is nowhere revealed, in all its bitterest consequences, more aptly than in the contrast between the traditional question asked by native peoples in the past — "How will any of our actions affect the next seven generations?" — and the mindset of Rev. Jerry Falwell, who, when confronted with the horrors his philosophy may produce, commented, "You know why I'm not worried? I ain't gonna be here."



PROPHECY
AND
POLITICS

Militant Evangelists on the Road to Nuclear War

GRACE HALSELL

#711 Hb., 210 pp. — **$14.95**

Deceptive Linguistic Structures in the Phrase "The Holocaust"

ROBERT A. HALL, JR.

At present, the phrase *the Holocaust* is almost universally used to refer to various aspects of the situation in which Jews found themselves under the National Socialist régime from 1933 to 1945, in Germany and occupied territories. In this usage, there are several features of linguistic, graphemic, and semantic structure which command the belief of the average hearer in the reality of "the Holocaust" (normally quite outside his or her awareness) and at the same time leave its reference confusingly unclear. These features include the meaning of the definite article (reality), the singular number and capitalization (uniqueness), and the effects (confusion and ambiguity) of the reference of this expression.

1. The definite article *the* is often thought of as an "itsy-bitsy" word, unstressed and of little or no importance in contrast to words which are fully stressed, such as nouns, adjectives, and verbs. Yet the English definite article has a specific meaning and semantic function of its own. It commands a hearer's or reader's belief in the reality of what is referred to by the noun it modifies, and sets up a tacit presupposition, for the rest of the discourse, that this reality has been established. Consider the following joke, in which someone says: "If the dog would only catch a rabbit, we could have rabbit-pie for dinner—if we had a dog." The humor of this utterance consists in the contradiction between what we are led to believe at the outset of the sentence—*i.e.* that the speaker has a really existing dog — and the information given at the end, namely that he does not have a dog.[1]

In the case of "the Holocaust," the use of the definite article has a similar effect. Once we speak of "the Holocaust," the presupposition is set up that we are referring to a reality, so that further discourse on the topic is perforce committed to acceptance of that reality. How could one even query the existence of whatever is referred to by that phrase? Hence "to deny the reality of the Holocaust" has come to be a stock slogan, used against anyone who questions any aspect of what is alleged concerning the experiences of Jews under Nazism, or even (as I know from personal experience) to report on what others have said. It is as if one were denying the reality of the sun or the moon or the earth.

2. The meaning of the singular number of a noun in English is, of course, that only one member of the phenomena referred to exists or is relevant to the situation. In writing, we emphasize the uniqueness of an object or phenomenon by capitalizing the noun, thus giving it somewhat of the status of a proper name. There are, for instance, a number of "water-gaps" in the Pennsylvania mountains, but around Stroudsburg one refers to the Delaware Water-Gap simply as *the Water-Gap*. Similarly with historical events, such as *the Crucifixion*. Many thousands of poor wretches died agonizing deaths on crosses, but for Christians, there was only one such object, *the Cross*, and one such event, *the Crucifixion*.

In the case of *the Holocaust*, likewise, use of the singular and capitalization of the noun serve to emphasize to any hearer (and even more so, to any reader) its uniqueness. Various commentators, such as Michael A. Hoffman and Joseph Sobran, have been in the vanguard in expressing a growing awareness that the Jewish experience under the Nazis was only one of many such — no matter how we define it — that many groups have undergone since ancient times.[2] Yet insistence on the uniqueness of "the Holocaust" has led even to such excesses as refusal to countenance the foundation of a Roman Catholic convent at Auschwitz (Oswiecim), because that place is regarded by some as exclusively sacred to the memory of the specifically Jewish victims of "the Holocaust."[3] For the sake of the argument, let us assume for the moment that a given number of non-Jews were martyred there. Why is their suffering to be considered less important than that of whatever Jewish victims there may have been? Why should the non-Jews, also, not be commemorated there?

3. The English word *holocaust* is a borrowing from Late Latin *holocaustum* "a burnt offering," which was borrowed in its turn from Greek *holócauston* "something wholly burnt." In addition to these meanings, it has acquired in English the further senses of "complete consumption by fire; complete destruction, esp. of a large number of persons; a great slaughter, a massacre."[4] It is in this last sense that it has come to be used in the phrase *the Holocaust*, but it has undergone a further extension not justified by its previous history. Its use now covers a wide range of senses, from referring to the presumed mass-execution of Jews in gas chambers or other installations, to denoting the entire experience of all Jews in Germany and in territories occupied by German troops, from the accession of the National Socialist party to power in 1933 until the end of the war in 1945. It is thus possible for a person who even questions any given allegation concerning concentration-camps or gas-chambers to be accused of denying that Jews underwent any persecution or suffering at all. This type of unacknowledged shifting of meaning is known as *semantic wrenching*, and the taking over of a term for such special use is often called *word-shanghaiing* or *word-kidnapping*.[5]

Unscrupulous discussants have, by using these linguistic features, induced naïve, unsuspecting hearers and readers to believe in the reality and uniqueness of whatever is called *the Holocaust*, and have at the same time wrenched its meaning and made its reference vague and imprecise. They have thus eliminated objective discussion and replaced it by obfuscation and confusion. In this way, use of the phrase *the Holocaust*, without further qualification, prejudges the issue. Here, as in so many other instances of propagandistic "Newspeak," we must be on our guard whenever we hear, read, or use this phrase. We must be fully aware of its various and distorted uses, if we are to realize what is happening linguistically and thus avoid being duped.

Notes

1. Another instance which is often cited in this connection involves the first five lines of Samuel Taylor Coleridge's poem *The Pleasure Dome of Kubla Khan:* "In Xanadu did Kubla Khan / A stately pleasure dome decree, / Where Alph, the sacred river, ran / through caverns measureless to man / down to a sunless sea." The most important word in these five lines is *the* in verse three, because it commands the reader's belief in the existence of Alph, and hence of the entire situation. (Try substituting *a* for *the* here, and see how flat the entire passage falls.)
2. Cf., most recently, Michael A. Hoffman III, "Psychology and Epistemology of Holocaust 'Newspeak'," *JHR* Vol. 6, no. 3 (Winter 1985-86), pp. 467-478, and Mark Weber's observations in "Joseph Sobran and Historical Revisionism," *JHR* Vol. 7, no. 3 (Winter 1986-87), pp. 373-374.
3. As widely repored in the news-media in late January, 1986, e.g. in the *New York Times*, January 31, I, p. 4, col. 1.
4. Cf. the *Oxford English Dictionary* 5.344, s.v. *holocaust*.
5. If I am not mistaken, I was the first to use the expressions *semantic wrench* and *word-shanghaiing*, in my review of Maurizio Dardano, *Il linguaggio dei giornali italiani*, in *Language* 31.211-215 (1975).

Irving on Churchill

THEODORE J. O'KEEFE

World-class historian David Irving is no stranger to readers of the *JHR*. His address to the 1983 International Revisionist Conference, which appeared in the Winter 1984 *Journal of Historical Review* ("On Contemporary History and Historiography"), was something of a primer on Irving's Revisionist historiographical method. It was spiced as well with tantalizing hints of new directions in Irving's research and new book possibilities arising from them.

Not the least among Irving's revelations were those that touched on Winston Churchill, descendant of one of England's greatest families and leader of his nation and its empire (as he still thought it) at what many of his countrymen and many abroad still regard as Britain's "finest hour." Readers will recall that Irving exposed several instances of Churchill's venality, cowardice, and hypocrisy, including Churchill's poltroonish posturing at the time of the German air raid against Coventry and the facts of Churchill and his cronies' secret subvention by the Czech government.

It will also be recalled that in his lecture Irving spoke of his projected book on Winston Churchill, which at the time was to be published in the U.S. by Doubleday and in Great Britain by MacMillan, two great firms entirely worthy of an author who has been churning out meticulously researched historical bestsellers for a quarter of a century. As has been pointed out in recent issues of the *IHR Newsletter,* Irving's challenges to the reigning orthodoxy have become so unbearable to the Establishment that both these major houses refused to print the books as written. The task has now been undertaken by a Revisionist operation in Australia. Nearing completion, the new Irving book, *Churchill's War,* is slated to be available from the IHR by the end of this year.

Last year David Irving made a world-wide speaking tour, visiting North America (the U.S. and Canada), Australia, South Africa, and Europe. He lectured on a wide range of topics pertaining to the troubled history of our century, with his customary flair for the pointed phrase and the telling anecdote. During one of his lectures, delivered at Vancouver, British Columbia on March 31, 1986, Irving offered a series of mordant new facts and insights on the life and career of Winston Churchill.

At the outset of his lecture, Irving remarked that the late Harold MacMillan (Lord Stockton), recently targeted by Nikolai Tolstoy *(The Minister and the Massacres)* for his role in the forcible deportation of tens of thousands of anti-Communist Cossacks, Byelorussians, Ukrainians, and others to the U.S.S.R. after World War II, had stated that Irving's Churchill book would "not be published by his company, over his dead body." Clearly Lord Stockton's recent demise didn't alter things at MacMillan, however.

Then Irving let out an electrifying piece of information:

> The details which I will tell you today, you will not find published in the Churchill biography. For example, you won't even find them published in Churchill's own biography because there were powers above him who were so powerful that they were able to prevent him publishing details that even he wanted to publish that he found dirty and unscrupulous about the origins of the Second World War.
>
> For example, when I was writing my Churchill biography, I came across a lot of private papers in the files of the Time/Life organization in New York. In Columbia University, there are all the private papers of the chief editor of Time/Life, a man called Daniel Longwell. And in there, in those papers we find all the papers relating to the original publication of the Churchill memoirs in 1947, 1949, the great six-volume set of Churchill memoirs of the Second World War. And I found there a letter from the pre-war German chancellor, the man who preceded Hitler, Dr. Heinrich Brüning, a letter he wrote to Churchill in August, 1937. The sequence of events was this: Dr. Brüning became the chancellor and then Hitler succeeded him after a small indistinguishable move by another man. In other words, Brüning was the man whom Hitler replaced. And Brüning had the opportunity to see who was backing Hitler. Very interesting, who was financing Hitler during all his years in the wilderness, and Brüning knew.
>
> Brüning wrote a letter to Churchill after he had been forced to resign and go into exile in England in August, 1937, setting out the names and identities of the people who backed Hitler. And after the war, Churchill requested Brüning for permission to publish this letter in his great world history, the six-volume world history. And Brüning said no. In his letter, Brüning wrote, "I didn't, and do not even today for understandable reasons, wish to reveal from October, 1928, the two largest regular contributors to the Nazi Party were the general managers of two of the largest Berlin banks, both of Jewish faith and one of them the leader of Zionism in Germany."
>
> Now there is a letter from Dr. Heinrich Brüning to Churchill in 1949, explaining why he wouldn't give permission to Churchill to publish the August, 1937 letter. It was an extraordinary story, out of Churchill's memoirs, even Churchill wanted to reveal that fact, you begin to sense the difficulties that we have in printing the truth today. Churchill, of course, knew all about lies. He was an expert in lying himself. He put a gloss on it. He would say to his friends, "The truth is such a fragile flower, the truth is so precious, it must be given a bodyguard of lies." This is the way Churchill put it.

Irving went on to describe several sources of secret financial, support enjoyed by Churchill. In addition to money supplied by the Czech government, Churchill was financed during the "wilderness years" between 1930 anf 1939 by a slush fund emanating from a secret pressure group known as the Focus.

Irving on the Focus:

> The Focus was financed by a slush fund set up by some of London's wealthiest businessmen. Principally, businessmen organized by the Board of Jewish Deputies in England, whose chairman was a man called Sir Bernard Waley Cohen. Sir Bernard Waley Cohen held a private dinner party at his apartment on July 29, 1936. This is in Waley Cohen's memoirs... The 29th of July, 1936, Waley Cohen set up a slush fund of 50,000 pounds for The Focus, the Churchill pressure group. Now, 50,000 pounds in 1936, multiply that by ten, at least, to get today's figures. By another three or four to multiply that into Canadian dollars. So, 40 times 50,000 pounds...about $2 million in Canadian terms was given by Bernard Waley Cohen to this secret pressure group of Churchill in July, 1936. The purpose was, the tune that Churchill had to play was, fight Germany. Start warning the world about Germany, about Nazi Germany. Churchill, of course, one of our most billiant orators, a magnificent writer, did precisely that.
>
> For two years, The Focus continued to militate, in fact, right through until 1939. And I managed to find the secret files of The Focus, I know the names of all the members. I know all their secrets. I know how much money they were getting, not just from The Focus, but from other governments. I use the word "other governments" advisedly because one of my sources of information for my Churchill biography is, in fact, the Chaim Weizmann Papers in the State of Israel. Isrel has made available to me, all Churchill's secret correspondence with Chain Weizmann, all his secret conferences. It is an astonishing thing, but I, despite my reputation, in a kind of negative sense with these people, am given access to files like that, just the same as the Russian Government has given me complete access to all of the Soviet records of Churchill's dealings with Ivan Maisky, Joseph Stalin, Molotov and the rest of them. I am the only historian who has been given access to these Russian records. It is a kind of horse trading method that I use when I want access to these files, because it is in these foreign archives we find the truth about Winston Churchill.
>
> When you want the evidence about his tax dodging in 1949 and thereabouts, you are not going to look in his own tax files, you're going to look in the files of those who employed him, like the Time/Life Corporation of America. That's where you look. And when you're looking for evidence about who was putting money up for Churchill when he was in the wilderness and who was funding this secret group of his, The Focus, you're not going to look in his files, again you're going to look in the secret files, for example, of the Czech government in Prague, because that is where much of the money was coming from.

Irving then revealed further details of Churchill's financing by the Czechs, as well as the facts of Churchill's financial rescue by a wealthy banker of Austro-Jewish origins, Sir Henry Strakosch, who, in Irving's words, emerged "out of the woodwor of the City of London, that great pure international financial institution." When Churchill was bankrupted overnight in the American stock market crash of 1938, it was Strakosch, who was instrumental in setting up the central banks of South Africa and India, who bought up all Churchill's debts. When Strakosch died in 1943, the details of his will, published in the *London Times* included a bequest of £20,000 to the then Prime Minister, eliminating the entire debt.

Irving dealt with Churchill's performance as a wartime leader, first as Britain's First Lord of the Admiralty and then as Prime Minister. The British historian adverted to Churchill's "great military defeat in Norway, which he himself engineered and pioneered," and mentioned the suspicion of Captain Ralph Edwards, who was on Churchill's staff at the time, that Churchill had deliberately caused the fiasco to bring down Neville Chamberlain and replace him as prime minister, which subsequently happened.

Irving spoke of Dunkirk:

> In May, 1940, Dunkirk, the biggest Churchill defeat of the lot. It wasn't a victory, it wasn't a triumph, nothing for the British to be proud of. Dunkirk? If you look at the Dunkirk files in the British archives now, you will find, too, you're given only photocopies of the premier files on Dunkirk with myseterious blank pages inserted. And you think, at first, how nice of them to put these blank pages in to keep the documents apart. Not so. The blank pages are the ones that you really want to be seeing. In some cases, of course, the blank pages are genuinely censored with intelligence matters. But the other blank pages are letters between Churchill and the French Prime Minister, Paul Reynaud, which revealed the ugly truth that Churchill, himself, gave the secret order to Lord Gort, the British General in command of the British expeditionary force at Dunkirk, "Withdraw, fall back," or as Churchill put it, "Advance to the coast." That was Churchill's wording. "And you are forbidden to tell any of your neighboring allies that you are pulling out. The French and the Belgians were left in the dark that we were pulling out.
>
> I think it's the most despicable action that any British commander could have been ordered to carry out, to pull out and not tell either his allies on his left and right flanks that he was pulling out at Dunkirk. The reason I knew this is because, although the blanks are in the British files, I got permission from the French Prime Minister Paul Reynaud's widow. His widow is still alive. A dear old lady about 95, living in Paris. And guiding her trembling hand, I managed to get her to sign a document releasing to me all the Prime Minister's files in the French National Archives in Paris. And there are documents, the

> originals of the documents which we're not allowed to see in London, and there we know the ugly truth about that other great Churchill triumph, the retreat to Dunkirk. If peace had broken out in June of 1940, Churchill would have been finished. No brass statue in Parliament Square for Mr. Winston Churchill. He would have been consigned to the dustbin of oblivion, forgotten for all time and good riddance I say, because the British Empire would have been preserved. We would, by now, have been the most powerful race, can we dare use the word, the British race, the most powerful race on Earth.

Irving pointed out that Churchill rejected Hitler's peace offers in 1939, 1940, and 1941 (Irving supports the thesis that Rudolf Hess's flight to Scotland was ordered by the Führer). Irving pinpointed one critical moment, and supplied the background:

> The crucial moment when he managed to kill this peace offensive in England was July, 1940. If we look at the one date, July the 20th, this I think was something of a watershed between the old era of peace, the greatness of the British Empire and the new era, the new era of nuclear deterrent and the holocaust, the nuclear holocaust, July 20, 1940. Mr. Churchill is lying in bed that Sunday out in Checkers, when he gets a strange message. It's an intercept of a German ambassador's telegram in Washington to Berlin. It's only just been revealed, of course, that we were reading all of the German codes, not only the German Army, Air Force and Navy Codes, but also the German embassy codes. And if you're silly enough to believe everything that's written in the official history of British Intelligence, you will understand that the only reason that they released half of the stories is to prevent us from trying to find out the other half. And what maters is that we are reading the German diplomatic codes as well. On July 20th, the German ambassador in Washington sent a message to Berlin saying that the British ambassador in Washington had asked him very quietly, very confidentially, just what the German peace terms were. This, of course, was the one thing that Churchill could never allow to happen, that the British find out what Hitler's peace terms are. He sends an immediate message to the foreign office, to Lord Halifax, saying, "Your ambassador in Washington is strictly forbidden to have any further contacts with the German ambassador, even indirectly." They were communicating through a Quaker intermediary.
>
> Now, on the same day, Churchill sent a telegram to Washington ordering Lord Lothian, the British ambassador in Washington, to have nothing to do with the German ambassador. And the same day, he takes a third move to insure that the peace moves in Britain are finally strangled at birth. He orders Sir Charles Portal to visit him at Checkers, the country residence of British prime ministers. Sir Charles Portal was Commander in Chief of Bomber Command. Now what is the significance? Well, the significance is this. Up to July, 1940, not one single German bomb has fallen on British towns. Hitler had given orders that no British towns are to be bombed and, above all, bombing of London is completely forbidden and embargoed. Churchill

> knows this, because he's reading the German codes, he's reading the German Air Force signals, which I can now read in the German files. Churchill is reading the signals and he knows that Hitler is not doing him the favor.
>
> Hitler is still hoping that this madman in England will see reason or that he will be outvoted by his cabinet colleagues. So he's not doing Churchill the favor of bombing any English towns. Churchil is frantic because he thinks he's being outsmarted by Hitler. On July the 20th he sends for Sir Charles Portal, the Chief of Bomber Command, and he says to Sir Charles Portal, as we know from records from Command to the Air Ministry, "When is the earliest that you could launch a vicious air attack on Berlin?" Sir Charles Portal replies to Winston, "I'm afraid we can't do it now, not until September because the nights aren't long enough to fly from England to Berlin and back in the hours of darkness. September, perhaps, and in September we will have the first hundred of the new Sterling bombers..." But he also says, "I warn you, if you do that, the Germans will retaliate. At present they're not bombing English targets, they're not bombing civilian targets at all and you know why. And if you bomb Berlin, then Hitler will retaliate against English civilian targets." And Churchill just twinkles when he gets this reply because he knows what he wants.
>
> We know what he wants because he's told Joe Kennedy, the American Ambassador, Joseph P. Kennedy, father of the late President, "I want the Germans to start bombing London as early as possible because this will bring the Americans into the war when they see the Nazis' frightfulness and above all it will put an end to this awkward and inconvenient peace movement that's afoot in my own Cabinet and among the British population." I've opened Kennedy's diary, I've also read Kennedy's telegrams back to the State Department in Washington. They're buried among the files. You can't find them easily, but they are worth reading and you see in detail what Churchill was tellig him. What cynicism. Churchill deliberately provoking the bombing of his own capital in order to kill the peace movement. He's been warned this would be the consequence, but he needs it. And still Hitler doesn't do him the favor.

Irving then gave a detailed account of the cynical maneuverings of Churchill to escalate the aerial campaign against Germany's civilian population to the point at which Hitler was driven to strike back against Britain's cities, supplying the spurious justification for the R.A.F.'s (and later the U.S. Army Air Force's) monstrous terror attacks against centuries-old citadels of culture and their helpless inhabitants.

The British historian further expanded on a theme he had touched on in his address to the IHR's 1983 conference: Churchill the drunkard. Irving substantiated his accusation with numerous citations from diaries and journals, the originals of which often differ from heavily laundered published editions. He concluded his address with an anecdote of a ludicrous incident which found

Churchill pleading with William Lyon Mackenzie King, wartime prime minister of Canada, to shift production in his country's distilleries from raw materials for the war effort to whiskey and gin, twenty-five thousand cases of it. According to Mackenzie King's private diary, the Canadian prime minister tore up Churchill's memorandum on the subject at precisely twenty-five minutes to eight on August 25, 1943, and Sir Winston had to soldier on through the war with liquid sustenance from other lands and climes. As Irving emphasized, Churchill's drunken rantings, often during cabinet meetings, disgusted many of his generals, as when, at a meeting on July 6, 1944, the prime minister told his commanders to prepare to drop two million lethal anthrax bombs on German cities. Of this meeting Britain's First Sea Lord, Admiral Cunningham, wrote, according the Irving: "There's no doubt that P.M. is in no state to discuss anything, too tired, and too much alcohol."

Irving's demolition of the Churchill myth, based on a wealth of documentary evidence, most of which has been studiously avoided by the keepers of the Churchill flame, may constitute his most important service to Revisionism. The legendary V-for-victory-waggling, cigar-puffing "Winnie" is for many of a centrist or conservative bent the symbol and guarantee that Britain and America fought and "won" the Second World War for traditional Western values rather than to bleed Europe white and secure an enormous geopolitical base for Communism.

Irving's Churchill biography promises to make trash of such authorized studies as that of Martin Gilbert (which has already been described in private by one Establishment historian as "footnotes to Churchill's war memoirs"). The publication of the first volume of *Churchill's War* later this year should be an historiographical event of the first importance.

A Secret Report by Jan Karski

THEODORE J. O'KEEFE

One of the most durable and useful "eyewitnesses" to the alleged Jewish Holocaust has been the World-War-II Polish spy and propagandist who calls himself Jan Karski. The former courier for the Polish Underground, who was born Jan Kozielewski, wrote an account of his experiences in wartime Poland, *Story of a Secret State,* which was an American best-seller over forty years ago. Karski's most recent hit was his appearance in the film *Shoah* (for which he has high praise despite its strident anti-Polonism), in which his agonized recounting of his doings in the Warsaw "ghetto" in 1942 won him additional laurels for his role as a "righteous Gentile."

It has long been evident to Revisionist scholars that Karski's several accounts of his alleged visit to the German camp for Jews located near Belzec, some 80 miles southeast of Lublin, have lost favor among Exterminationist authorities. As Arthur Butz has pointed out, "a new and sanitized version of his story" appeared in Walter Laqueur's *The Terrible Secret.*[1] Laqueur felt the need to explain Karski's failure to see any gas chambers by stating that "apparently...these were walled in and could be approached only with a special permit."[2] Karski was not asked about his Belzec visit during his interview by Claude Lanzmann in *Shoah*, and most recently Raoul Hilberg has cast severe doubt on Karski's 1942 Belzec visit. "I would not put him in a footnote in my book," stated Hilberg.[3] As Revisionist researcher Mark Weber has lately written, Karski's claim that Jews at Belzec were put on trains and shipped away from the camp is more consistent with the Revisionist view of Belzec as a transit camp for Jews headed east than with the notion that Belzec was an extermination center.[4]

Not long ago a translation of a secret and before that time unknown report submitted by Jan Karski to the Polish Government-in-Exile appeared in a Jewish scholarly journal published in New York City.[5] In the report, titled *Zagadnienie Żydowskie w Kraju (The Jewish Problem in the Homeland),* Karski provided revealing information about Jews and Poles under German and Soviet occupation, and even more revealing indications of his facility at distorting the facts in order to serve propaganda aims.

Karski's report, which carries a handwritten notation "to be put to use," was submitted to the Polish Government-in-Exile, at that time based in Angers, France, in February 1940. Karski had just returned from Poland, where he had been taken prisoner by the invading Russians, been handed over to German custody, and then excaped to the Polish Underground in the fall of 1939. According to his introduction to the report, which he composed on his arrival in Angers, he "did not make a special study of the Jewish Question while in the homeland."[6] Nevertheless, Karski made some careful observations. After describing the situations of Jews in the pre-1919 German territories annexed by the Germans in 1939 and in the German-occupied General Government, Karski portrayed the Jewish role in that part of pre-war Poland that fell to the USSR in 1939 as follows:

> The situation of the Jews in these territories is fundamentally different. Above all, "there are no distinctions made here among nationalities or religious groups." "Everyone finds conditions for work and the protection of the law."
>
> The Jews are at home here, not only because they do not experience humiliations or persecutions, but [also because] they possess, thanks to their quick-wittedness and ability to adapt to every new situation, a certain power of both a political and an economic nature.
>
> They are entering the political cells; in many of them they have taken over the most critical political-administrative positions. They play quite a large role in the factory unions, in higher education, and most of all in commerce; but above and beyond even all this they are involved in loansharking and profiteering, contraband, foreign currency exchange, liquor, immoral interests, pimping and procurement.
>
> In these territories in the vast majority of cases their situation is better both economically and politically than what it was before the war.
>
> This applies first of all the the classes of petty merchants, artisans, proletarians, and the half-educated. The wealthier and more educated circles [owners of hotels, large plants, factories, stores, as well as lawyers, doctors, engineers, etc.] are subject in principle to the same restrictions as a group, as are other nationalities within the Soviet system.

Karski went on to write of the Poles' attitudes towards the Jews in the Russian zone of occupation:

> The attitude of the Jews towards the Bolsheviks is regarded among the Polish populace as quite positive. It is generally believed that the Jews betrayed Poland and the Poles, that they are basically communists, that they crossed over to the Bolsheviks with flags unfurled.
>
> In fact, in most cities the Jews greeted the Bolsheviks with baskets of red roses, with submissive declarations and speeches, etc., etc.
>
> However, one needs to insert here certain distinctions.
>
> Certainly it is so that Jewish communists adopted an enthusiastic stance toward the Bolsheviks, regardless of the social class from which they came. The Jewish proletariat, small merchants, artisans, and all those whose position has at present been improved *structurally* and who had formerly been exposed to oppression, indignities, excesses, etc., from the Polish element — all of these responded positively, if not enthusiastically, to the new regime.
>
> Their attitude seems to me quite understandable.
>
> However, there are worse cases, where they [the Jews] denounce the Poles, Polish nationalist students, and Polish political figures, when they direct the work of the Bolshevik police force from behind their desks or are members of the police force, when they falsely defame the relations [between Poles and Jews] in former Poland. Unfortunately it is necessary to state that such incidents are quite common, more common than incidents which reveal loyalty toward Poles or sentiment toward Poland.

After expressing his own sympathy for the wealthier and better educated Jews, Karski concluded that as to the Poles' feelings toward the Jews in the Soviet zone:

> In principle, however, and in their mass, the Jews have created here a situation in which the Poles regard them as devoted to the Bolsheviks and — one can safely say — wait for the moment when they will be able simply to take revenge upon the Jews. Virtually all Poles are bitter and disappointed in relation to the Jews; the overwhelming majority [first among them of course the youth] literally look forward to an opportunity for "repayment in blood."

Karski devoted the remainder of his report on the Jewish problem in occupied Poland to a frank consideration of the effectiveness of German anti-Jewish measures in winning "the sympathy, recognition, and respect of a broad stratum among the Poles." After claiming that the Germans' real goals in Poland vis-à-vis the Jews were "plunder" and "the duping of the Polish populace," Karski summed up the situation as follows:

> It must be admitted that they are succeding in this.
>
> The Jews pay and pay and pay..., and the Polish peasant, laborer, and half-educated, unintelligent, demoralized wretch loudly proclaim, "Now then, they are finally teaching them a lesson." — "We should learn from them." — "The end has come for the Jews." — "Whatever happens, we should thank God that the Germans came and took hold of the Jews," —etc.
>
> "The solution of the Jewish Question" by the Germans — I must state this with a full sense of responsibility for what I am saying — is a serious and quite dangerous tool in the hands of the Germans, leading toward the "moral pacification" of broad sections of Polish society.
>
> It would certainly be erroneous to suppose that this issue alone will be effective in gaining for them the acceptance of the populace.
>
> However, although the nation loathes them mortally, this question is creating something akin to a narrow bridge upon which the Germans and a large portion of Polish society are finding agreement.
>
> It is certain that this bridge is no less narrow than the desires of the Germans to strengthen and reinforce it are great.
>
> Moreover, this situation threatens to demoralize broad segments of the populace, and this in turn may present many problems to the future authorities endeavoring to rebuild the Polish state. It is difficult; "the lesson is not lost."
>
> Furthermore, the present situation is creating a twofold schism among the inhabitants of these territories — first, a schism between Jews and Poles in the struggle against the common enemy, and second, a schism among the Poles, with one group despising and resenting the Germans' barbaric methods [conscious of the danger in this], and the other regarding them [and thus the Germans, too!] with

> curiosity and often fascination, and condemning the first group for its "indifference toward such an important question."

Karski and his superiors were not about to leave matters there, however. Possibly to avoid offending the sensibilities of British and French officials who might come across the report, but far more likely as a basis for propaganda among Jews and Western liberals, Karski prepared alternate versions of some of the most damning passages in his secret report, which were appended to the document. The appended passages represented the Poles as sympathetic to the plight of the Jews, and dismissive of German efforts to win them over through anti-Jewish measures. The following passage is a rewrite of the summary quoted above, and embodies what Karski and the Polish Government-in-Exile imagined (doubtless correctly) would be a more palatable, to Hitler's enemies in the West, portrayal of Polish attitudes:

> It is necessary to admit that only in one part are they necessary *[sic]* in this, while in the other part they are creating an affect precisely contrary to their intentions.
>
> The Jews pay and pay and pay..., but the Polish populace more and more frequently and in ever wider circles is thinking out loud: "This is already too much." — "These are not people." — "This must end with some horrible punishment for the Germans."
>
> "The solution of the Jewish Question" by the Germans — this must be stated with a full sense of responsibility — *is supposed to be* in their hands and according to their plans a serious and quite dangerous tool, whether for winning over or for "morally pacifying" broad sections of the Polish populace.
>
> Certainly it would be in error to suppose that they expect that this issue alone will be effective in gaining for them the acceptance of the populace.
>
> They know that the Polish nation loathes them mortally, but at the same time they are convinced that this question will create something akin to a narrow bridge upon which the Germans and a certain portion of Polish society will find agreement.
>
> They know further — and they rather expect this — that their methods with respect to the Jews threaten to demoralize broad segments of the populace, and this in turn will certain present many problems to the future authorities endeavoring to rebuild the Polish state. They believe also that the present situation will create a twofold schism among the inhabitants of these territories — first, a schism between Jews and Poles in the struggle against the common enemy, and second, a schism among the Poles, with one group despising and resenting their barbaric methods [conscious of the danger in this] and the other [according the German expectations the great majority] regarding those methods [and thus, of course, their authors as well] with curiosity or fascination, and condemning the first group for its "indifference toward such an important question."

> At this moment it is difficult to say to what extent the Germans understand that this group is not large and will in the course of time become even smaller.

The Karski report, interesting in itself for its observations of the pro-Soviet activity of many Jews in that part of pre-war Poland occupied by the Soviets in September 1939, provides further evidence of Karski's skill and lack of scruples as a propagandist. Indeed, Karski's role as a propagandist, spreading mendacious "Holocaust" propaganda among the political leaders and press lords of American and Britain, was if anything more important to his superiors in the Polish Government-in-Exile than his activity as a spay and a courier. As his successor, Jan Nowak, wrote:

> They way was opened for me by my predecessor in this role, Jan Karski. Endowsed with great political acumen, very inventive, and commanding excellent English, Karski had done excellent political and propaganda work on both sides of the Atlantic. He had talked with Churchill, Roosevelt, and a whole range of influential politicians, members of Parliament, and British and American newspaper columnists. His book *The Story of a Secret State* was a best-seller in America. "I hope," said Mikolajczyk [the Polish Interior Minister], "that you will turn out to be another Karski."[7]

Through his continued activity as a self-professed eyewitness to the "Holocaust," and his defense of Claude Lanzmann's anti-Polish movie, the alleged "righteous gentile" Jan Karski seems to be carrying on his propagandist's role for different interests.

Notes

1. Arthur Butz, "Perspective in the 'Holocaust' Controversy," *JHR*, Vol. 3, no. 4 (Winter 1982), p. 388. Reprinted in Butz, *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*, IHR, 1985, p. 352.
2. Walter Laqueur, *The Terrible Secret*, New York: Penguin, 1982, p. 231.
3. Interview by Ernie Meyer, *Jerusalem Post*, week ending June 28, 1986, p. 9.
4. "An Open Letter to Rev. Mark Herbener," *Christian News*, April 27, 1987, p. 1.
5. David Engel, "An Early Account of Polish Jewry under Nazi and Soviet Occupation Presented to the Polish Government-in-Exile, February 1940," *Jewish Social Studies*, Vol. XLV, no. 1 (Winter 1983), p. 1.
6. All quotations from the Karski report are taken from the translation presented in the the Engel article. Excerpts from a slightly different translation of Karski's report lately appeared in a letter by the British historian of Poland, Norman Davies, which was published in *The New York Review of Books*, April 9, 1987 ("Poles and Jews: An Exchange").
7. Jan Nowak, *Courier from Warsaw*, Detroit: Wayne State University, 1982, p. 234.

About the Contributors

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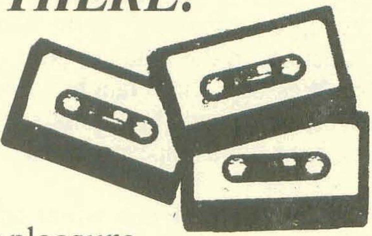

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- ★ Dr. Karl Otto Braun, formerly with the East Asia division of the Political Section of the Foreign Office of the Third Reich, will speak on the Soviet spy Richard Sorge.
- ★ Dr. R. Clarence Lang, a professor of German and history as well as a Lutheran minister, will speak on Rev. Martin Niemoeller.
- ★ Dr. Alexander Berkis, a specialist on Soviet hegemony in the Eastern Bloc, will speak on Latvian persecution under Soviet rule.
- ★ Dr. Martin A. Larson, renowned for his scholarly studies on the origins of Christianity, philosophy and American historical biography, will speak on a topic to be announced.
- ★ A Mystery Guest, who cannot be announced until the day of the conference but is known to all our Revisionist friends.
- ★ The IHR Lifetime Achievement Award will be presented to Mr. Conrad Grieb, author of *Uncovering the Forces for War* and *American Manifest Destiny and the Holocausts.*
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